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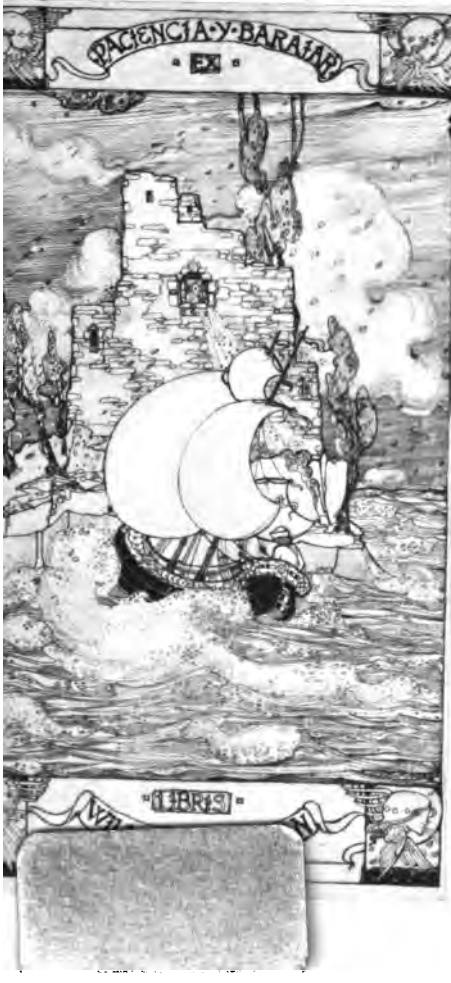
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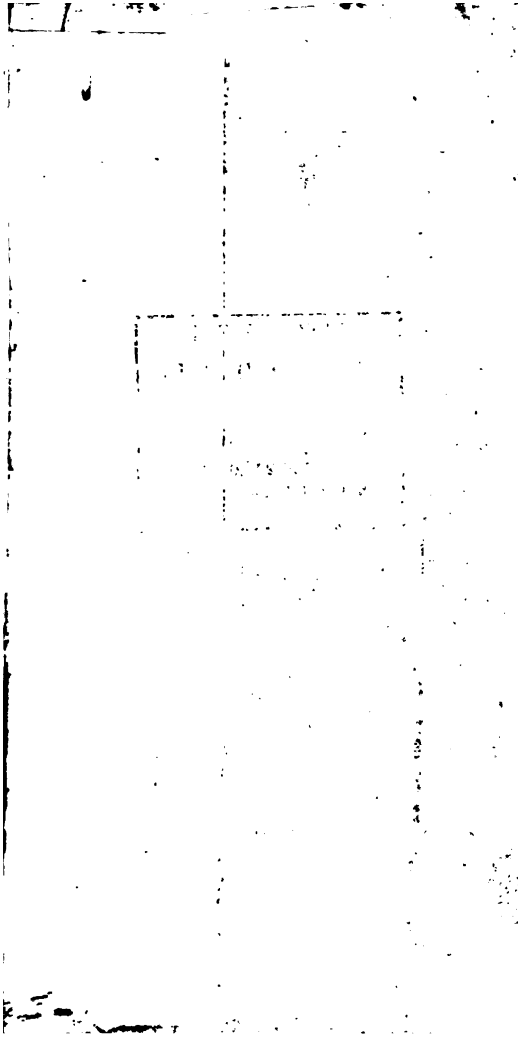

Lizars del.t et Sculpsit.

He espied a party of soldiers advancing, upon which he hid himself;
but in such a manner as to see the soldiers, who went near by.

Vide Page 12

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ASCANIUS.

OR THE

Young Adventurer

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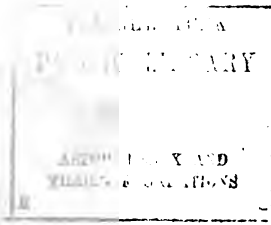

ASCANIUS,

OR

THE YOUNG ADVENTURER:

CONTAINING

AN IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION IN SCOTLAND

IN THE YEARS 1745-46.

In which is given

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS, AND DEATH OF COLONEL GARDNER;

with

A Journal of the miraculous Adventures and Escape of the Young Chevalier after the Battle of Culloden;

and

Plans of the Order of Battle on Falkirk and on Culloden Moor.

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ASCANIUS,

OR

THE YOUNG ADVENTURER.

BOOK I.

Containing an impartial account of the Rebellion in Scotland, in the year 1745.

THE family of the Stuarts is of great antiquity. The earliest accounts deduce them from a thane of Lochaber. But antiquity is ever involved in obscurity. However, we are certain that the first of them who reigned in Scotland was Robert II. surnamed Blear-eye: he was descended from Walter Stuart and Margery Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce. In the year 1371, Robert Stuart ascended the throne of Scotland, as next heir to King David Bruce the Second, his mother's brother.

Upon the death of Elizabeth Queen of England, the succession to the throne of that kingdom opened to the family of the Stuarts, in consequence of a marriage alliance betwixt the royal blood of the two kingdoms. James VI. was the first of the race of the Stuarts who ascended the English throne: he had come to the throne of Scotland in 1567, and, after the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1604, he succeeded to the crown of England. Thus came the family of the Stuarts to reign over the kingdoms of Scotland and England.

This ancient and noble family governed these realms, in an uninterrupted line, down to James VII. This unfortunate prince had a blind attachment for the Popish religion. During his adminis-

manifestos in his father's name, one of which was printed and dated in 1745; a third he published in his own name, in which he promised many things agreeable to the Scots, and among others the dissolution of the union with England.

By this time the government was informed of his being in the Highlands, and sent strict orders to Sir John Cope, generalissimo of the king's forces in Scotland, to take all possible care to prevent him from making his party formidable, and if possible to take him alive or dead; and, as an inducement to this, a reward of L.30,000 was set on his head.

Before the end of August, two companies of General Sinclair's regiment being sent to reconnoitre the Highlanders, were most of them made prisoners, as was soon after Captain Swethenham of Guise's foot. This gentleman being released on his parole, gave the government the first circumstantial account of the number and condition of the Highland forces.

Ascanius now prepared to march southward, with a view of taking the city of Edinburgh; while, in the mean time, Cope having collected all the king's forces in Scotland, and armed the militia, marched for the Highlands in quest of Ascanius; who, not chusing to risk a battle in his infant state of affairs, gave the old general the slip over the mountains, and (September 4,) entered Perth without resistance. The news being carried to Cope, who was got to Inverness, after a very fatiguing march, he saw no other remedy but to march back, though not the same way he came: accordingly, he ordered transport ships to meet him at Aberdeen to carry his forces to Leith. Meantime, Ascanius proclaimed his father at Perth, where he was joined by several persons of distinction, who brought supplies of men and arms. From thence he marched his troops to the river Forth, which they forded on the 13th, Ascanius first plunging in at the head of the infantry. Directing his march towards Glasgow, he summoned it; but receiving no answer, altered his route, and

marched for Edinburgh, which he reached before Cope had time to return from Aberdeen.

While both parties were thus advancing towards the metropolis, the inhabitants were preparing for a vigorous resistance: but the prince, having many friends in the city, no sooner came near it, than a treaty of surrender was entered upon, and, on the the 17th, the provost admitted him into it: however, the brave, though very old, General Guest retired with a few regulars into the castle, which he held for the king. While the prince was entering the city, Cope was disembarking his troops at Dunbar, within two days march of Edinburgh; and being there joined by Brigadier Fowke, with Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, marched on the 19th, and encamped that night near Haddington. Marching early next morning, they arrived at Prestonpans in the evening, where they perceived Ascanius's troops on the hills towards Edinburgh, at which place only a small body of Highlanders were left to secure a retreat thither. That night both parties lay under arms, and firing frequently passed between them. On the 21st, about three in the morning, the king's troops were briskly attacked; some dragoons retreated on the first fire, and left the infantry exposed to the broad swords of the Highlanders, with whose weapons and manner of fighting they were unacquainted; and, not having time to recover the disorder they were thrown into, they were finally routed in a few minutes: about 500 were cut to pieces, and most of the rest made prisoners. The conduct of the gallant Colonel Gardiner, in this action, will be remembered and admired by latest posterity.

The following circumstances of his death are narrated by P. Doddridge, D. D., and may be relied on as authentic.

"On Friday, September 20, 1745, (the day before the battle,) when the whole army was drawn up, I think about noon, the colonel rode through all the ranks of his own regiment, addressing them at once.

in the most respectful and animating manner, both as soldiers and as Christians, to engage them to exert themselves courageously in the service of their country, and to neglect nothing that might have a tendency to prepare them for whatever should be the event of the battle.

"They seemed much affected by the address, and expressed a very ardent desire of attacking the enemy immediately. He earnestly pressed it on the commanding officer, both as the soldiers were then in better spirits than it could be supposed they would be after having passed the night under arms; and also as the circumstance of making an attack would be some encouragement to them, and probably some terror to the enemy, who would have had the disadvantage of standing on the defence. He also apprehended, that, by marching to meet them, some advantage might have been secured with regard to the ground; with which, it is natural to imagine, he must have been perfectly acquainted, as it lay just at his own door, and he had rode over it so many hundred times. But this was overruled, as it also was in the disposition of the cannon, which he would have had planted in the centre of our small army, rather than just before his regiment, which was in the right wing; where he was apprehensive that the horses, which had not been in any engagement before, might be thrown into some disorder by the discharge so very near them.

"When he found that he could not carry either of these points, nor some others, which, out of regard to the common safety, he insisted upon with some unusual earnestness, he dropped some intimations of the consequences which he apprehended, and which did in fact follow; and, submitting to Providence, spent the remainder of the day in making as good a disposition as circumstances would allow.

"He continued all night under arms, wrapped up in his cloak, and generally sheltered under a rick of barley, which happened to be in the field. About

three in the morning, he called his domestic servants to him, of whom there were four in waiting.

"He then dismissed three of them, with most affectionate Christian advice, and such solemn charges relating to the performance of their duty and the care of their souls, as seemed plainly to intimate, that he apprehended it at least very probable he was now taking his last farewell of them.

"The army was alarmed, by break of day, by the noise of the rebels' approach, and the attack was made before sun-rise, yet when it was light enough to discern what passed. As soon as the enemy came within gun-shot, they made a furious fire; and it is said that the dragoons, which constituted the left wing, immediately fled. The colonel, at the beginning of the onset, which in the whole lasted but a few minutes, received a wound by a bullet in his left breast, which made him give a sudden spring in his saddle; upon which his servant, who had led the horse, would have persuaded him to retreat; but he said it was only a wound in the flesh, and fought on, though he presently after received a shot in his right thigh. In the mean time, it was discerned that some of the enemy fell by him; and particularly one man, who had made him a treacherous visit but a few days before, with great professions of zeal for the present establishment.

"The colonel was for a few moments supported by his men, and particularly by that worthy person Lieutenant-colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm here, and a few months after fell nobly in the battle of Falkirk; and by Lieutenant West, a man of distinguished bravery; as also by about fifteen dragoons, who stood by him to the last. But, after a faint fire, the regiment in general was seized with a panic; and though their colonel, and some other gallant officers, did what they could to rally them once or twice, they at last took a precipitate flight: and, just in the moment when Colonel Gardiner seemed to be making a pause, to deliberate what

duty required him to do in such a circumstance, he saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, "Those brave fellows would be "cut to pieces for want of a commander," or words to that effect, which, while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out aloud, "Fire on, my lads, "and fear nothing." But just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him, with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him such a deep wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him, while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse.

"The moment he fell, another Highlander, whose name was M'Naught, and who was executed about a year after, gave him a stroke, either with a broad sword or a Lochaber-axe, on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw farther at that time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand, and waved it as a signal to him to retreat; and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak, "Take care of yourself." Upon which the servant retired, and immediately fled to a mill, at the distance of about two miles from the spot of ground on which the colonel fell, where he changed his dress, and, disguised like a miller's servant, returned with a cart as soon as possible; which was not till near two hours after the engagement.

"The hurry of the action was then pretty well over, and he found his much-honoured master, not only plundered of his watch, and other things of value, but also stripped of his upper garments and boots; yet still breathing, and, though not capable of speech, on taking him up, he opened his eyes; which makes it something questionable whether he

were altogether insensible. In this condition, and in this manner, he conveyed him to the church of Tranent, from whence he was immediately taken into the minister's house, and laid in bed, where he continued breathing, and frequently groaning, till about eleven in the forenoon, when he took his final leave of pain and sorrow, and undoubtedly rose to those distinguished glories which are reserved for those who have been so eminently and remarkably faithful unto death.

"From the moment in which he fell it was no longer a battle, but a rout and carnage. The cruelties which the rebels inflicted on some of the king's troops, after they had asked quarter, were dreadfully legible on the countenances of many who survived it. They entered Colonel Gardiner's house before he was carried off from the field, and plundered it of every thing of value, to the very curtains of the beds, and hangings of the rooms. His papers were all thrown into the wildest disorder, and his house made an hospital for the reception of those who were wounded in the action.

"The remains of this christian hero were interred the Tuesday following, September 24, at the parish church of Tranent, where he had usually attended divine service with great solemnity; his obsequies were honoured with the presence of some persons of distinction, who were not afraid of paying that last piece of respect to his memory, though the country was then in the hands of the enemy."

Many other principal officers were desperately wounded, and a considerable number of the common men made prisoners. All the cannon, tents, &c. of the vanquished, were taken.

Cope had the good fortune to escape to Berwick, with the Earls of Loudon and Hume; and Brigadier Fowke and Colonel Lascelles got safe to Dunbar. This was called the battle of Prestonpans, or by some the battle of Seaton, from two little towns near which it was fought; but it is more properly

called the battle of Gladsmuir, which was the field of action, a wide barren heath about seven miles east from Edinburgh. We have no certain account of the number of Cope's army; the regiments he had, were those of Gardiner, Hamilton, Lee, Guise, Murray, Lascelles, and Loudon; but of these almost every one wanted near a third of their complement; and in all they are supposed not to have exceeded 4000, sutlers, &c. &c. included. The victors did not exceed 3400, above two-fifths of which did not fight.

From this victory Ascanius reaped considerable advantages. It inspired his followers with courage, intimidated his enemies, and many, who before that time acted upon the reserve, now crowded to his standard. This victory, also, put his army in possession of fire-arms and ammunition, with which they were formerly ill provided. He now returned in triumph to Edinburgh, loaded with the spoils of his late victory, where he took up his residence in the palace of Holyrood-house. He levied an army in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood; imposed taxes; compelled the city of Glasgow to furnish him with a large sum; and laid all the country round under contribution. These things he judged necessary to enable him to carry on his enterprise with vigour, money being the nerves of war.

We cannot help observing the conduct of the French court on this occasion: when they had heard he had gained a victory, they supplied him with money, artillery, and ammunition; his interest with them seemed to depend on the success of his arms.

Ascanius did not find so many in the kingdom espouse his cause as he was made to believe. The greater part of the kingdom did not favour his family and pretensions; but they were unarmed and undisciplined, and therefore could make no resistance.

And even in the Highlands, where Ascanius thought a good part of his interest lay, there were found many friends to the government, who, in the most open manner, avowed their loyalty. Argyle

armed his vassals; the Earl of Sutherland brought to the field 1200 men; Sir Alexander M'Donald and the Laird of M'Leod sent 2000 hardy islanders from Sky, for the service of the government; and many other clans appeared under their several potent chiefs. There was also a body of gentlemen, who served on horseback at their own expense, styling themselves the *Royal Hunters*, of which General Oglethorpe had the command: surely the sacred flame of liberty glowed warmly in the breasts of these gentlemen, who stood forth in the cause of their country, on such honourable terms!

At the same time, Duncan Forbes, Esq. lord president of the Court of Session in Scotland, particularly distinguished himself there, by his zeal for the Georgian interest; and it was principally by his means, that a considerable body of Highlanders and other Scots were raised, under the command of the Earl of Loudon, for the security of the forts of Inverness, Augustus, and William, a chain of fortified places commanding the north of Scotland.

But, notwithstanding all these preparations, the intrepid Ascanius resolved to pursue his designs through all obstacles. Nov. 1, he went from Edinburgh to the camp at Dalkeith, from whence he daily dispatched his agents into England, and received intelligence of what was doing there both by his friends and enemies: and, though he had the mortification to find, contrary to the assurances he had received, that the former were but few, yet he still inflexibly resolved to push on the daring attempt, having only, as he publicly signified, a crown or a coffin in view. He hoped that, by his presence in England, he should be able to put new life into his friends, to reclaim the apostate, fix the wavering, animate the fearful, and inspire the zealous with that activity, courage, and contempt of danger, of which he would give an immediate example.

With these views, and in this resolute disposition, he began his march for Carlisle, with an army not ex-

ceeding 6700 effective men; a small number for such an expedition: but he relied much on English reinforcements, and more on a timely descent by the French in the south; for, in case of such a diversion, nothing could have effectually obstructed his march to London. The principal persons in his army were, the Duke of Perth, general; Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general; Lord Elcho, son to the Earl of Wemyss, colonel of the life-guards; the Earl of Kilmarnock, colonel of a regiment mounted and accoutred as hussars; Lord Portaligo, general of the horse; the Lords Nairn, Ogilvie, Dundee, and Balmerino; Messrs. Sheridan and Sullivan, Irish gentlemen; General M'Donald, his aid-de-camp; John Murray of Broughton, Esq. his secretary; and many others.

On the 6th, the army passed the Tweed, and entered England. Marshal Wade was at this time, as hath been observed, at Newcastle upon Tyne, and might have intercepted Ascanius on the borders; but being ignorant of the rout he intended to take, whether by Carlisle or Newcastle, the cautious old general determined to wait Ascanius's motions, and by them regulate his own: but this conduct rendered his army of little use to the government in this critical and dangerous juncture; for Ascanius, taking the Carlisle road, arrived at that city (which is almost parallel to the Scots coast with Newcastle, from whence it is but three winter days march,) and took it before Wade could arrive to prevent him. After proclaiming his father here, he proceeded southward, leaving a garrison of Highlanders in the place. Wade had marched about half way to Carlisle when he heard it was taken. As the weather and roads were so bad as almost to have ruined his army, and as, consequently, they were not in a condition to attempt retaking the city, it was thought proper to return to Newcastle, leaving the adventurers to get so far to the southward, that it would have been absurd for Wade's people to attempt the overtaking them: therefore the general remained in the north, in or-

der to guard those parts, and prevent the prince from receiving supplies or reinforcements from thence, or out of Scotland.

And now the progress of Ascanius had thrown all England into confusion, and the Georgians began to dread his arrival at London, before another army could be formed in the southern and midland parts to impede his march, which was amazingly swift, all the country flying before him, none daring or caring to resist. However, the Duke of Cumberland, youngest son to the Georgian king, returning from Flanders, where he commanded his father's troops, most of which returned with him, or were before arrived, and put under Wade's command; this prince, I say, returning from abroad, in order to lead the Georgian troops against Ascanius, his now successful rival in more respects than one, an army was formed with all expedition, and the duke put himself at the head thereof, resolving to wait the coming of Ascanius, and by one decisive stroke determine the fate of the British crown.

Mean time, the young Adventurer advanced with prodigious celerity, while the attention of both kingdoms was fixed on the expected approaching action. It was on the 20th that our Adventurer left Carlisle, from whence he proceeded to Lancaster, where he arrived the 24th; on the 27th he was at Preston, the 29th at Manchester. Till now the prince had been joined by few of the English, and on this account the spirits of his faithful followers began to droop. "The English are degenerate," say they, "and lost "to all sense of justice or gratitude: they are stu- "pidly in love with their present government, bi- "gotted to their new-fangled notions, and strangers "to those noble sentiments of loyalty which glowed "in the breasts of their ancestors. In vain have we "made this long fatiguing march; in vain doth the "generous Ascanius invite the infatuated English to "shake off the yoke of whiggism, to do justice to "his Catholic family, themselves, and their poste-

" rity; in vain this glorious opportunity, if they re-
" fuse the proffered blessing, and chuse to live in
" ease and indolence." In these terms were the complaints of the army couched; and Ascanius himself now began to see his error, in trusting to the accounts sent him while in Scotland, of the number and dispositions of his partizans in the south: nevertheless, he prudently tried to disguise his sentiments, and keep up the spirits of the people. " Who
" knows (said he, at a council of war held at Man-
" chester,) but all will yet happen for the best, and
" my greater glory. I grant we have run ourselves
" into imminent danger; or rather, perhaps, Provi-
" dence has brought us thither, to shew what great
" things may be done for us. Victory doth not al-
" ways declare for numbers. Few though we are,
" we have arms in our hands, and I hope every man
" here is well satisfied as to the goodness of his
" cause. We found the English less than men at
" Gladsmuir, and we shall not find them more than
" men on any field in England. Our friends, for
" ought we know, are, at this instant, striking a
" more effectual blow for us than if they joined us
" in person. Let us suspend our fears and our judg-
" ments as to our situation, until I have received
" fresh advices from London, for there I hope for-
" tune is yet working for us."

Thus cheered, the adventurers still went southward, until they came within the borders of Staffordshire, where the duke lay with an army to intercept them. Wade was also marching after them through Yorkshire, intending to put them between two fires. Thus was this little army encircled by the English, unable to proceed any way without meeting an army treble their number, for even yet they did not exceed 7400 men, not having been joined by more than 500 since their entering England.

I must not forget to mention, that, in every city and market-town through which Ascanius passed, he took possession of it for his father, by proclaim-

ing him; for instance, in Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Burton, Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Congleton; the two last in Cheshire. At Congleton, finding his march southward absolutely stopped by the duke, part of whose army lay at Newcastle under Line, within ten miles of Congleton, he resolved to turn off eastward to Leek in Staffordshire, and so through the moorlands into Derbyshire, marching east by south till he got to Derby town, where he would be nearer London than the English. This resolution was the most prudent he could take in the circumstances he was in: for it would have been madness to engage the English army, not only superior in number, but abounding in all necessaries; nor had they been harassed by forced marches, as the troops of Ascanius were, who wanted necessary refreshment. On the other hand, had they gone back the way they came, that would have been at once to forfeit every opportunity of getting possession of the capital; had they turned westward, in order to take refuge in Wales, they would be never the nearer conquering England, and out of the way of seconding a French invasion, or a general rising of their friends in London; besides, had Ascanius attempted to pass into Wales, he might have been obstructed in his march through Cheshire, particularly by the garrison of Chester city, where, besides the militia, some new regiments were quartered.

December 2d, Ascanius was at Leek in the moorlands of Staffordshire, next day at Ashburn in the Peak of Derbyshire, and on the 5th at Derby town. Mean time, the duke, finding the dexterous adventurers had given him the slip, crossed the country, expecting to intercept them in Lancashire or Northamptonshire; and this he had infallibly done, had not Ascanius perceived, that still to go forward, would be obliging himself to risk a battle under all the disadvantages above-mentioned, or to surrender at discretion: he now saw that the English were not

to be depended on. Here he received advice from London, "That his friends there had not the power "to rise in his favour, without desperately hazard- "ing both his own ruin and that of his party in the "kingdom; that there was no likelihood of a de- "scent from France, all the southern coasts being "well guarded, as were the circumjacent seas, by "the English fleet, for fear of whom the French "durst not stir out."

Hereupon a council of war was called, at which the chiefs spake very freely, and strenuously insisted on the army's returning to Scotland by the way he came; urging, that they might get through Derby and Stafford before the duke, on the south side of them, could know they had begun to return; and that, as Wade lay directly north from them, they doubted not of again giving him the slip, and reaching Carlisle before he could obstruct their flight.—To this advice Ascanius consented, still comforting himself with hopes that Providence intended to work for him by some other means than those he had thought of. However, the common soldiers, who had flattered themselves with the taking of London, were greatly chagrined at their disappointment, and would have severely revenged themselves on the people of Derby, and the other towns through which they were to repass, had not Ascanius and his officers appeased them, and convinced them of the necessity of their returning, and of injuring the persons and properties of the English as little as their necessities would admit. Nevertheless, discovering that a subscription had been here set on foot by the English party, and already pretty full, the adventurers procured a copy of the subscription list, and made the town pay the money to them. They also obliged the people of Derby to furnish them with many necessaries at an easy price. But this proceeding (which Ascanius could not easily prevent) was perhaps the principal reason of their being joined by only four or five in this county, one of whom was counsellor Morgan.

As a delay of a day or two must have rendered the retreat of Ascanius and his troops impracticable, they staid at Derby but two nights. December 6th, we find them again at Ashburn in the Peak. While Ascanius is thus giving the world as extraordinary a proof of his dexterity and skill in a retreat, as he had before of his courage and conduct in a battle, (with one body of English foot hotly pursuing at his heels, and Oglethorpe with a body of horse on his right flying to intercept him, but in vain, though the general made a very swift march across the country,) let us leave him on his march, and take a view of what his friends in Scotland were doing for him there.

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, who remained in Scotland to take care of Ascanius's interest while he was in England, was very active in raising men and money in the northern parts. His endeavours were greatly supported by the arrival of Fitz-James' regiment of horse from France, of which most of the men were Irish and Scots, or descended from parents born in these kingdoms; these were commanded by Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, who joined Lord Lewis: their forces together made near 5000 men. With these troops the two lords quartered themselves in and about Perth, at the same time that Ascanius set out on his return from Derby.

On the other hand, the Earl of Loudon was equally active in spiriting up the clans in the Georgian interest; he raised considerable supplies among the M'Leods, Grants, Monros, Sutherlands, and Guns, and at last he had above 2300 effective men: with these he forced the son of Lord Lovat to retire from before Fort Augustus, which he had besieged with a considerable body of Frasers, a clan of which his father was chief. The city of Edinburgh, now again in the hands of the English, likewise exerted itself in raising men, as did also Glasgow, betwixt which two numerous regiments and several independent companies were raised. Thus, whether in England or

Scotland, Ascanius was like to have enemies enough to deal with.

Let us now return into England, and follow Ascanius in his flight from Derby. December 7th, he arrived at Leek in Staffordshire, and on the 9th at Manchester. Meantime, the Duke of Cumberland having intelligence that his enemies had begun to retreat northward, prepared to follow them with all expedition. Flying with a body of horse through the counties of Warwick and Stafford, on the 10th he arrived at Macclesfield in Cheshire, 1000 foot following him at no great distance; for the duke's scheme was to get up to the adventurers with his horse, and retard their march until his infantry came up, and then to endeavour to bring Ascanius to a general engagement. This, however, was what the latter prudently avoided, well knowing the difference betwixt the spirit of troops pursued in an enemy's country, and that of the pursuers. Besides, perceiving that fortune inclined her face with a smile towards his royal highness, the brave and active Duke of Cumberland, the country people voluntarily supplied his army with horses, carriages, provisions, and all other necessaries; while the adventurers could get nothing but what violence forced from the grumbling English, who took all methods to distress them.

Macclesfield, where, as we have observed, the English arrived on the 10th, is but a day's march from Manchester, from whence Ascanius marched that day, resting his troops there only one night; the fickle inhabitants, perceiving fortune seemed to frown on the adventurers, whom they had joyfully received a few days before, now gave the troops several rude marks of a very different spirit: this Ascanius so highly resented, that he made the people pay him L.2500, to save them from being plundered, before he left the town; however, in consideration of the many friends he still had there, he promised repayment when the kingdom should be recovered to his family, of which he did not despair.

On the 11th, the adventurers marched farther northwards, and came to Wigan, and next day to Preston. The duke still followed at about a day's march, yet still he found it impossible to gain upon Assanius, who felt it equally impracticable to outstrip his formidable rival in youthful vigour and vigilance. On the 13th, in the morning, Assanius quitted Preston, which he had no sooner done, than Oglethorpe, with the horse and dragoons from Wade's army, arrived there, having, in three days, marched above 100 miles through ice, and over mountains covered with snow. And now the adventurers had certainly been forced to an action, had not their English friends, in the south, luckily, at this critical juncture, done them some service. A report was successfully propagated, "that the French were landed in the south;" and this was so generally believed by the English, that an express was sent to inform the duke thereof; whereupon he halted a day for further information, and sent orders to Oglethorpe to discontinue the pursuit, and march towards his army. Still more happy, indeed, had it been for Assanius if this report had been grounded on fact: but the seas were so well guarded by the English fleet, that, though a strong squadron of French men of war had been fitted out, with a great many transports, having a considerable body of forces on board, yet they durst not venture out of port. But the report was of great service to Assanius, for, had not the duke and Oglethorpe been thus retarded, he would have been forced to halt; and, though the general's troops were as much fatigued and disordered by their forced march as his, yet they would, at least, have been able to obstruct his retreat until the duke came up, and then the action must have been decisive; for the harassed adventurers could have little hopes of victory over an army so much superior in all respects.

However, on the 14th, upon better information, the duke ordered Oglethorpe to continue the pursuit,

whilst himself followed as fast as possible. On the 15th, Ascanius arrived at Kendal in Westmoreland, and marched next day for Penrith in Cumberland, the English following with great celerity. On the 18th, the duke, with the king's own regiment of dragoons, and Kingston's new-raised light horse, came up with the rear of the adventurers, after a fatiguing ten hours' march. Ascanius was then at Penrith, and knew not that his rear was in so much danger till it was over; for, on sight of the English, Lord George Murray, who commanded the rear, in conjunction with Lord Elcho, ordered his men to halt in a village called Clifton, and there receive their attack. Meantime, the duke, whose capacity as a soldier all impartial persons must acknowledge to be consummate, made every necessary disposition for driving the adventurers from their post. The attack was resolutely made, and as resolutely opposed. The Highlanders, being much sheltered by the walls and hedges, from behind which they fired with great security, lost very few men, nor had the assailants time to receive any great loss, night being so far advanced before the action was well begun, that it was soon ended. The adventurers (who must have been overpowered by numbers, had the action happened in the day) abandoned the village, continuing their retreat to Penrith, where they joined Ascanius before midnight. The darkness of the night, added to the closeness of the country, which was extremely rough and covered with wood-land, obliged the English to discontinue the pursuit till morning. Their loss in the action was about twenty men and officers killed, and thirty wounded. Ascanius's troops suffered no loss, only Captain George Hamilton, of Colonel John Roy Stewart's regiment, was taken prisoner: he made a stout resistance, and killed two troopers with his own hand, but was at last dangerously wounded in the head and on the shoulder by one of the Austrian hussars, who voluntarily served the duke.

Next morning Ascanius arrived at Carlisle, after a

miserable march all night. The same morning also the duke marched for that city, and in his rout he gleaned up the stragglers, the weak, the weary, the sick, and the wounded adventurers, about 100 men, who were confined in the country jails.

The 20th, the English advanced to Hesket; within a short day's march of Carlisle. At the same time Ascanius left that city, continuing his march for Scotland: he forded the river Esk, though at that time very much swoln, and many of his men were drowned. He was forced, against his will, to leave a small garrison at Carlisle, in order to stop the duke, and prevent his pursuing him into Scotland, at least, not so soon as to force him to an engagement, before he had got recruits of men, money, and spirits. It was with regret, I say, that he left any garrison in Carlisle, for he well knew that they must be sacrificed to his convenience; but he was over-persuaded by Mr. Sullivan, who insisted that he ought to improve this opportunity, and run the hazard of sacrificing a few of his followers to the safety of himself and all the rest, who had so cheerfully ventured their lives, and experienced so many hardships in their unfortunate expedition into England, particularly the Manchester regiment.

This small garrison, animated with a greater share of courage and fidelity to the cause they had embraced, than of prudence or human foresight, resolved obstinately to defend the city. They were greatly spirited up by Mr. John Hamilton of Aberdeenshire, their governor, who represented unto them, "That "it was both their duty, and the most honourable "thing they could do, to defend the place to the "last extremity. The place is," said he, "both "by art and nature, pretty strong, and we have artillery enough: the English have no cannon, nor "can speedily bring any hither, so that we may, "doubtless, hold out a month: meantime, Ascanius will certainly do all in his power to relieve "us, and who knows how far it may be yet in his

" power? Besides, the English may not, perhaps,
" when they see us resolute, stay to besiege us in
" form, but follow our friends into Scotland; in
" which case you may do Ascanius some service,
" by employing part of the enemy's troops to look
" after us, and thereby, in some measure, pave the
" way to his being a match for them in the field;
" whereas, at present, he is in danger of being over-
" whelmed by numbers."

On the 22d, the duke's army entirely invested Carlisle, it being thought proper to reduce this important key of the kingdom before the army marched after Ascanius into Scotland. This step was disapproved of by many of the government's friends, who objected, " That the duke's army was amusing itself
" with a trifling siege, while Ascanius was suffered
" to escape, and had time given him to strengthen
" himself by a juncture of the several corps his
" friends had been raising for him in Scotland,
" during his excursion to the southward." But these censurers were doubtless unacquainted with the duke's reasons for not immediately following his enemies out of England. They did not consider that he might, by the time he got to Carlisle, be convinced that he could never overtake or bring Ascanius to a battle, unless the latter pleased: that though he might again come up with his rear, yet it would be still as difficult to bring the main body into action, since, as before, the rear would cover the retreat of the rest: and, further, that it could be of little advantage to the English interest to harass and weaken their army, by forced marches and skirmishes with the adventurers, who might, at least, lead them into such a country, as they would find it difficult to subsist in, and in the end, perhaps, become the weaker party, and have their own retreat into England cut off.

As the army under the duke was destitute of the artillery and ammunition proper for a siege, it sat still before the place till the 20th, when, being amply pro-

vided with all things necessary, two batteries were raised, which played upon the city from the 28th to the 30th, in the morning, when the garrison, having no prospect of relief from their friends in Scotland, and fearing to be reduced by storm, hung out the white flag to capitulate: however, the best terms they could obtain was, that they should not be massacred, but reserved for the king's pleasure; which they were forced to accept, and the English took possession of the city the same day. In this affair, besides the men, they lost 16 pieces of ordnance, being all that Ascanius brought with him into England. Of this garrison many were tried and condemned, and some executed, particularly John Hamilton, Esq. the governor, besides Colonel Townly of the Manchester regiment.

The duke had no sooner reduced this city than he invested General Hawley with the chief command of the army, with orders to march into Scotland, and there make such opposition to the motions of Ascanius as the future circumstances of affairs should direct: meanwhile, the duke returned to his father's court, there to concert measures for entirely completing the ruin of the adventurers.

Let us now follow the indefatigable Ascanius into Scotland, where we shall find him emerging from his late disgrace, and carrying his affairs to a higher pitch of prosperity than ever. But I know not if it be proper to look upon that as a disgrace which was not the want of any vigilance or capacity in him, but of treachery or remissness, or want of sincerity in those who made great professions of zeal for his interest, and who, after having drawn him into a vain dependence upon them, remained idle spectators of the danger they had run him into.

December 22d, Ascanius, who had divided his forces on the borders of Scotland, marched with the largest body, about 4000 men, to Dumfries, where he demanded of the inhabitants L.2000 contribution-money; of this L.1100 was immediately paid, and

hostages for the rest. From this he moved
ward on the 23d, and the 25th arrived at Gl
chusing rather to take possession of that to
which he resolved to raise another large co
tion, for its active zeal against his party while
in the south,) than to attempt the recovery of
burgh, which the English had now put into a
better posture of defence than it was when he
it. Glasgow was also the more obnoxious to
as it had ever been distinguished for disaffect
his kingdom, particularly in the reigns of C
and James II. and was considered as the pri
fountain of whiggism in the north.

Accordingly, he quartered his troops for s
days upon the inhabitants, and, before he le
city, obliged them to furnish him with neces
to the value of L.10,000 sterling. And now
that he formed a design of laying siege to Sti
one of the strongest and most important pla
Scotland. As all his forces would be wanted to
on this siege, he dispatched letters to Lords D
mond and Gordon, the master of Lovat, and
chiefs in the north, to advance with their troops
meet him betwixt Perth and Stirling. These
had with them a considerable treasure, which
been landed from on board some Spanish privat
also some artillery, ammunition, and other st
Lord Gordon had likewise raised a vast sum
money in Scotland, part of which was volunt
contributed, and the rest levied under pain of
tary execution: he and the other chiefs had
taken other vigorous methods for serving their p
The Hazard sloop of war, which the adventurers
taken from the English, they fitted out for their
service, as also a stout privateer at Montrose, an
armed sloop at Perth.

January 3d, 1745-6, Ascanius and the troop
Glasgow; and, on the 5th, having got the best pa
his forces together, he summoned the town of
ling to surrender; but General Blackney, who

manded there for the king, gave him a flat denial, declaring, "he would sooner lose his life, than be- "tray the trust that was reposed in him." However, the town being of no great strength, though the castle is, the inhabitants, after some hours spent in treaty, obtained their own terms of surrender, and next morning the adventurers took possession. But the resolute old Blackney retired with his troops into the castle, determined to defend it to the last extremity. He was again summoned to surrender, but to as little purpose as before; and therefore Ascanius prepared to besiege it in form with what artillery he had, which was insufficient for so considerable an undertaking.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Hawley, commander-in-chief of the English forces in Scotland, was assembling a strong, though not numerous army, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and, having all things in order, he determined to march to the relief of Stirling castle; but first he detached Brigadier-General Huske, (who was next in command under Hawley) with part of the army, to dislodge the Earl of Kilmarnock from Falkirk, where he lay with the young Adventurer's horse, and which, being of little use in a siege, he posted at this town, which lies in the direct road from Edinburgh to Stirling. On the first intelligence of Huske's approach, Kilmarnock retired to the rest of the army at Stirling, not having forces enough to engage the brigadier-general's troops; and thus the road being opened, the whole English army marched to Falkirk, where Ascanius resolved to give them the meeting.

Ascanius's affairs, not now in the same situation as when he was in England, encircled by the English, and without the least prospect of any reinforcements in case of a defeat, it was the highest prudence in him to avoid an engagement, and retire into Scotland before his retreat was cut off; but now, at the head of a body of resolute fellows, elate and re-animated by their successful retreat, the fresh troops

which had joined them, and the absence of the duke from the English army, of which he was the very life and soul, he had little to fear as to the event of an engagement: he doubted not his troops in their own country, in which they had already been so successful, and in which he foresaw so many ways of retrieving the loss of a battle.

Hawley's design was to have attacked Ascanius, who, being sensible of the difference betwixt an army's attacking and being attacked, and of the usual disadvantage in the latter case, resolved to give the English battle, without giving them time to chuse their ground. This he did with great success, on the 17th, in the afternoon. The field of battle was the moor of Falkirk, about a mile distant from that town. Ascanius was informed that the English (who had made great haste to gain the rising ground on which they were posted) had left their cannon in their camp, and would find it very difficult to get any up the hill; therefore he resolved to attack them before they could get up their artillery.

The English army, though formed in a hurry, advanced in good order, the dragoons on the left, and the infantry in two lines. When the adverse parties came within little more than musket-shot of each other, Hawley ordered the dragoons to fall on sword in hand, and the foot to advance at the same time, to give the adventurers a close fire. But, before they could execute these directions, a smart fire from the latter put the dragoons into some disorder, and at the same time the English battalions, firing without orders, increased the confusion; and the dragoons falling in upon the foot, occasioned their making only one irregular fire before they began to retreat. Barrel's and Ligonier's regiments, however, were immediately rallied by Brigadier Cholmondely and Colonel Ligonier. These troops made a brave stand, and repulsed the adventurers, who poured upon them very briskly. Meantime, General Huske, with great prudence and presence of mind, form-

ed another body of foot in the rear of the above two regiments. General Mordaunt also rallied another corps of infantry; and, upon the whole, the English made a tolerable retreat to the camp at Falkirk.

This battle cannot properly be said to have been fought out: it had certainly been renewed had not bad weather prevented it. The rain and wind were violent, and rendered the fire arms of little use.

The English, wanting their artillery, had no arms to oppose to the broad swords of the Highlanders, except their bayonets. During the action the artillery was drawn up the hill, but the owners of the draught horses, seeing the army in disorder, rode away with the horses, so that none could be found to draw the useless cannon from the field; by which means the whole train (except one piece, which the grenadiers of Barrel's regiment yoked themselves to and carried off, and three others which the people of Falkirk furnished horses to draw away,) fell into the hands of the adventurers.

The English at first, after quitting the field, determined to keep possession of their camp, and wait to see if Ascanius would attempt to dislodge them; but the rain coming heavy, the tents were so wet, and so much of their ammunition spoiled, that it was judged proper to order the troops to the town of Linlithgow that night, purely for the sake of shelter: next day they continued their retreat, and in the evening took up their former retreat in and about Edinburgh, where they examined into their loss, and missed more officers in proportion than men. Thus far all the facts I have mentioned, relating to the memorable battle of Falkirk, are admitted by the English: let us now consult the other party.

ORDER OF BATTLE ON FALKIRK MUIR.

A Morass.

KING'S ARMY.

DRAGOONS.

Ligonier. Cobham. Hamilton.

FOOT.

Wolfe. Cholmondely. Fullerney. St Clair, 1 *bat.* Price. Ligonier. Lauders. Blakeney. Monro. Fleming. Barrel. Battereau. Howard. Glasgow.

REBEL ARMY.

Lovat, 400. Chuny, Lochiel, 2 *bat.* 900. L. Le Gordon, 800. Young Pretender, 450. Cromarty, &c. Farquharson, &c. 700. Appin, 300. Ogylvie, 2 *bat.* 1000. Clanronald, 900. Athol, 2 *bat.* 1000. Keppoch, 400. 700.

Highlanders.

Narrative drawn up by Mr. Sheridan, and by him transmitted to the Kings of France and Spain, the Pope, and other powers in alliance with the young Adventurer's family.

" After an easy victory, gained by 8000 over 12000, " we remained masters of the field of battle; but as it " was near five o'clock before it ended, and as it re- " quired time for the Highlanders to recover their " muskets, rejoin their colours, and form again in " order, it was quite night before we could follow " the fugitives.

" On the other hand, we had no tents nor provi- " sions; the rain fell, and the cold sharp wind blew " with such violence, that we must have perished " had we remained all night on the field of battle; " and, as we could not return to our quarters without " relinquishing the advantages of the victory, the " prince resolved, though without cannon or guides, " and in extreme darkness, to attack the enemy in " their camp, and the situation of it was very advan- " tageous, and fortified by strong entrenchments: " their soldiers were seized with such a panic on our " approach, that they durst not stay therein, but fled " towards Edinburgh, having first set fire to their " tents.

" They had the start of us by an hour, and some " troops which they left at Falkirk disputing our " entrance, gained them another hour, so that our " cavalry, being poorly mounted, could not come up " with them. Hence it was, that in a flight in which " 5 or 6000 prisoners might have been taken, we did " not make above 500, only half of which were re- " gular troops. They had 600 slain, two-thirds " whereof were horses and dragoons, but we know " not exactly the number of their wounded. Our " wounded were not above 150, and our slain only " 45, officers included. We have taken 7 pieces " of cannon, 3 mortars, 1 pair of kettle-drums, a " pair of colours, 3 standards, 600 muskets, 4000 " weight of powder, a large quantity of grenadoes,

" 25 waggons, loaded with all kinds of military stores,
" tents for 470 men, and all the baggage that escaped
" the flames. Among their officers that fell, were
" 5 colonels and lieutenant-colonels, with all the
" chiefs of their Highlanders and militia. Our prince,
" who at the beginning of the action had been con-
" jured, for the love of his troops, not to expose
" himself, was in the second line of the piquets; but
" as soon as the left wing was thrown into some dis-
" order, he flew to their relief with an ardour that
" was not to be restrained. In the disposition of his
" troops, he followed the advice of Lord George
" Murray, who commanded the right wing, and
" fought on foot during the whole action, at the head
" of his Highlanders.

" Lord George Drummond commanded the left,
" and distinguished himself extremely; he took two
" prisoners with his own hand, had his horse shot
" under him, and was wounded in the left arm with
" a musket-ball. We should likewise do justice to
" the valour and prudence of several other officers,
" particularly Mr. Stapleton, brigadier in his most
" Christian Majesty's army, and commander of the
" Irish piquets; Mr. Sullivan, quarter-master-general
" of the army, who rallied part of the left wing; and
" Mr. Brown, colonel of the guards, and one of the
" aid-de-camps, formerly of Major-General Lalley's
" regiment."

" *Camp at Stirling,*
" *Jan. 31, 1745-6, N. S.*"

On the 18th, the day after the battle, Ascanius marched his army back to Stirling; and, as he was satisfied that Hawley's design of relieving this fortress was disappointed, he again summoned Blackney; who answered, " That he had always been looked " upon as a man of honour, and he would die so." Hereupon the besiegers erected new batteries to play upon the castle, and continued to ply it with small arms, which did little mischief; but they suffered pretty much from the fire of the garrison. This

made the Highlanders soon grow tired of the siege, and their uneasiness was greatly increased by a scarcity of provisions, which obliged Ascanius to send out parties on all sides of the country, to carry off what corn and meal they could find.

In this siege we shall at present leave the adventurers engaged, but without any progress, disappointed of the succours they expected from France and Spain, and very much perplexed to find means of subsisting their troops.

When the news of the battle of Falkirk reached London, the government thought it highly necessary to take more vigorous measures for defeating the designs of the once formidable Ascanius, who was now more dreaded by the English than ever. The army in Scotland was so considerably reinforced as to free the English from their apprehensions of the further progress of the adventurers: but as an invasion by the French and Spaniards was yet to be feared in England, it was judged unsafe to send many of its forces into Scotland. The Hessian troops in British pay, then lying in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, were ordered into the northern parts of Britain; some of them landed in the north of England, others in the south of Scotland, and immediately were assembled in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, under the Prince of Hesse, who had married a daughter of the King of England.

The troops under Hawley were extremely mortified at their late disgrace, and ardently wished for a speedy opportunity of retrieving their honour. In order to this, they were every day busied in preparations for marching to the relief of the gallant old Blackney, who still continued to defend Stirling castle with courage and constancy. In a few days the English army was in all respects in a better condition than before the action at Falkirk; and to animate the troops still more, January 30th, the young duke arrived at Edinburgh. He was received by the army as its guardian angel, whose presence was a sure

omen of victory; in short, his arrival banished all remembrance of the late disagreeable affair, and the soldiers expressed unusual ardour to be led against the enemy, bad as the weather still continued.

The active and indefatigable duke reviewed the troops the day after his arrival at Edinburgh, and immediately marched them towards Stirling, in two columns, consisting of 14 battalions, besides the Argyleshire Campbells, and Cobham's and Ker's dragoons. The first night, February 1st, eight battalions of this army took quarters at Linlithgow, where the duke himself lay; Brigadier Mordaunt, with six battalions, lay at Borrowstounness, the dragoons in the adjacent villages, and the Campbells took post in the front of the army towards Falkirk, where Ascanius had stationed a considerable body, who thought it convenient to retire upon the approach of the English, and marching back in the night to Torwood, they were met by a courier from Ascanius, with orders to halt there until morning, when he intended to join them with the rest of the army from Stirling, and to give the duke battle.

Next morning the English continued their march, and the officers and soldiers eager to come to a fresh trial with the adventurers; but hardly had they arrived, when they received advice that the enemy, instead of preparing for battle, were repassing the Forth with great precipitation; and, to confirm this intelligence, they saw all the advanced guards retiring from their posts in great haste and confusion. This news was soon after put out of all doubt by the noise of two great reports, like the blowing up of magazines. Hereupon the duke ordered Brigadier Mordaunt to put himself at the head of the Argyleshire troops and dragoons, and harass the adventurers in their retreat. Mordaunt began to execute this order with all alacrity and diligence imaginable, and arrived late in the evening at Stirling, where he took possession of the camp which Ascanius and his troops had abandoned, with all their artillery. They

had blown up St. Ninian's church, in which they had a great magazine of powder and ball; the noise of this explosion was what the duke's army heard, as before-mentioned.

The adventurers had also left behind them all the wounded men they had made prisoners at the battle of Falkirk, together with 19 of their own sick men.

As it was late when Mordaunt and his troops arrived at Stirling, and as the fugitives had broke down the bridge which crosses the river running by that town, it was judged unnecessary to continue the pursuit; accordingly the brigadier halted there till next day at noon, when the duke, with the rest of the army, joined them.—Having thus particularly related the motions of one party, let us return and take a view of what Ascanius had been doing, and attend to an explanation of his motives for, and the obligations he was under of quitting the camp at Stirling, and retiring to the Highlands.

On the approach of the English towards Falkirk, the adventurers quartered there retired to Torwood, as we have before observed, where Ascanius intended to join them in the morning, and fight the duke. To this end he called a council of war, to whom he communicated his purpose, and it was approved by the officers and the chiefs of the clans. However, when the troops were ordered to march, the Lowlanders, struck with a sudden panic on the retreat of the detached corps from Falkirk to Torwood, and the approach of the duke with an army treble their number, were found to be all in disorder and confusion, scattered about the fields, and, as it seemed, preparing rather to shift for themselves than to advance against the enemy. In vain did their leaders endeavour to re-inspire them with fresh courage; the dastardly Lowlanders were not to be re-animated: not even the presence of the undaunted Ascanius, who appeared among them, nor all his commands, entreaties, reproaches, exhortations, in the least availed; they attended to nothing but their unaccountable panic, and

absolutely declared, they would not sacrifice themselves, nor madly throw away their lives, by engaging an enemy so vastly superior both in number and condition. Ascanius, seeing that it was in vain to waste his precious minutes on these troops, gave orders for their passing the Forth, and retiring towards Perth, while he, with his trusty Highlanders, would abide the coming of the enemy, and defend their camp to the last man; chusing rather to die on the spot, than join in the ignominious flight of his troops.

As for the Highlanders, they were resolved to stand by him at all hazards, and to share in his fate, let it prove ever so desperate: however, a fresh council of war being held, the chiefs endeavoured to moderate the extreme ardour and forlorn resolution of the less-experienced Ascanius, beseeching him not to hazard his all upon one desperate engagement.

Among others, the Duke of Perth strenuously opposed coming to action with the duke, until their circumstances should become more favourable, and until they should have a better prospect of victory. In fine, it was at last thought expedient, to decline the battle for the present, and to march the whole army into the Highlands, where it was not in the least to be doubted but they should raise many recruits, and, in the end, either be able fairly to beat the English in a pitched battle, or to harass and ruin them, by terrible marches, fatigues, the badness of the country, and the rigour of the season, none of which they were so able to endure as the hardy natives.

In consequence of the above resolution, Ascanius, with a sorrowful heart, (for he little thought he should have been obliged to turn his back on the enemy so soon after the advantage he had gained at Falkirk,) gave orders that all the troops should quit the camp immediately, and follow the others that had marched to pass the Forth. This was done with all possible speed; for the consequence might have been fatal had they given the enemy time to come so nigh

as to fall upon their rear, and interrupt their retreat. I shall now give the reader the particulars of Ascanius's return to the Highlands, and the duke's march after him, in the form of a diary or journal, that the future transactions of each party, every day, from this period to the decisive battle of Culloden, may be the more regularly exhibited, and more clearly comprehended by the reader.

February 2d, 1746. Having broke down the bridge at Stirling, to retard the enemy's pursuit, the adventurers entirely quitted the neighbourhood of that town, separating themselves into different routs, though all led to the appointed general rendezvous in the Highlands. Part of them took the road by Taybridge, directly towards the mountains; Ascanius, with the rest, consisting of Lord Gordon's and Lord Ogilvie's men, the French troops, and what horse the adventurers had, got to Perth the same evening.

The same day the duke entered Stirling, where he received the compliments of General Blackney and the officers of the garrison on this memorable occasion; while this young prince was pleased to testify his extreme satisfaction with regard to the good defence the general had made, by which a place of so much importance had been preserved, and the designs of his dangerous rival, Ascanius, defeated. Mean while, pursuant to the duke's orders, many hands were employed in repairing the bridge, it being intended to march the army over it, and follow the fugitives into the mountains.

On the 3d, in the morning, Ascanius and his people quitted Perth, and marched northwards: Lord John Drummond, with the remains of the Scottish and Irish troops, which he had brought from France, made directly for Montrose. The adventurers left behind them, at Perth, 13 pieces of iron cannon nailed up; and they flung a great quantity of ammunition into the river, with 14 swivel guns, which they had taken out of the Hazard sloop.

February 4th, The bridge being repaired, the army passed over, and the advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire Highlanders and the dragoons, marched that night as far as Crieff; but the foot were cantoned in and about Dumblain, where the duke took up his quarters that evening.

Next day the duke's advanced guards took possession of Perth. Meanwhile the adventurers continued their retreat northward, in which we will leave them for a while, and make a short reflection on one of the most surprising instances of the great effects of a general's reputation that any history hath ever exhibited.—In the space of a single week, the Duke of Cumberland posted from his father's court, travelled about 300 miles in the midst of winter, put himself at the head of the forces in Scotland, and saw his enemies flying before him with precipitation; those very enemies who, in his absence, despised those troops by whom they were now pursued, were grown terrible to the flyers, chiefly on account of only one single person's having resumed the command of them. Should the duke's best friends endeavour to heighten this event, by any strains of compliment or panegyric, they would only obscure it: the bare recital of fact is the noblest eulogium.

Ascanius was very sensible how much the news of his retreat would alarm his friends both at home and abroad: therefore he caused several printed papers to be dispersed, setting forth his reasons for taking this step. Besides those already mentioned, the following were assigned, viz. That as his men, particularly the Highlanders, were loaded with the booty they had collected in England and Scotland, it was very proper to let them convey it home, where it might be lodged in safety; and further, that this would secure to them an acquired property, for which they would, doubtless fight valiantly to the last, and be induced to stand by the prince, not only on his account, but also on their own; and, after so fatiguing a campaign, to allow his troops some relaxation;

after which, when well refreshed and recruited, they would not fail to make another irruption into the Lowlands the next spring.

Ascanius had also other reasons, which he did not think proper publicly to divulge: he judged that, by removing the war into the Highlands, and by spreading reports of the severities of the enemy's troops, his men would be the better kept together, which he now found difficult to do, and would also contribute to increase the number of his followers. He also judged, that this would furnish his friends in France and Spain with an opportunity to attempt an invasion in the south, which would be a means to free him from all his difficulties. He had likewise a great desire to make himself master of the fortifications which run along the north of Scotland, viz. Fort-William, Fort-Augustus, and Fort-George, the last being the castle of Inverness; by taking these places he would be able to secure the country behind him, and thereby afford means for his friends abroad to land the reinforcements, of which he had received large promises.

But the duke, who had intelligence of all the enemy's motions from the spies he had among them, easily penetrated all their views, and took the most proper measures for defeating them. He marched the army, by different roads, to Aberdeen, where he resolved to fix his head-quarters, raise magasines, and receive such succours and supplies as should come by sea from England. Nor were the adventurers able to surprise any of these separate corps, each detachment being capable to make a stout resistance in case of an attack.

He stationed the Hessian troops, and some corps of English, at the castles of Blair and Menzius, at Perth, Dunkeld, and other places, by which he secured the passage into the Lowlands, and put it out of the power of the adventurers to return that way into the south. The Argyleshire-men, under their warlike leader, Gene al Campbell, undertook the defence of Fort-William, a place, at that time, of infinite im-

portance, as it secured another passage through the west of Scotland, by which Ascanius could have made his way into England a second time.

Having taken these precautions, the duke set out for Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 28th of February. The necessary dispositions being made, the Georgian generals judged it necessary to make examples of some who had heretofore misbehaved; in order to which, a court-martial was held at Montrose, by which Captain ****, in the artillery, who had deserted the train in the action at Falkirk, was sentenced to have his sword broke over his head by the provost, his sash thrown on the ground, and himself turned out of the army; and this was executed at the head of the artillery. A lieutenant, in Fleming's regiment, was broke for disobeying orders and prevaricating before a court-martial, on account of plundering Mr. Oliphant's house of Gask, a zealous adventurer, and who was at that time with Ascanius in the mountains. From this, and other instances which could be produced, all impartial men must own, that the burnings, plunderings, and devastations of the houses and estates of the adventurers, whereof the king's troops have been accused, were not connived at, nor permitted with so much impunity as reported by some over-zealous people. Let us now return to Ascanius, who made it his first care to become master of Inverness.

Lord Loudon was then there, with about 1600 of the new-raised men before mentioned. With these he marched out to fight the adventurers; but, upon their approach, finding them much stronger than he expected, he retreated, and abandoned the town of Inverness, without the loss of a man, leaving Major Grant, with two independent companies, in the castle, with orders to defend it to the last extremity.

These orders, were, however, but indifferently obeyed, for Ascanius no sooner appeared before the place than the hearts of the garrison began to fail, and, after a very short siege, he became master of the town and castle, where he fixed his head-quarters.

Besides the 4000 troops which now lay at Inverness, Ascanius had several detached parties abroad, and some of these falling upon several small corps of the duke's Highlanders, stationed about the castle of Blair, defeated them. These successes raised the spirits of the whole party of adventurers, notwithstanding the badness of the quarters, want of pay, scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniencies.

And now, in spite of all the difficulties Ascanius lay under, he resolved to prosecute his design upon Fort-Augustus and Fort-William: the former of these was accordingly attacked, in which was only three companies of Guise's regiment, commanded by Major Wentworth, so that it was speedily reduced and demolished; which was the fate that Fort-George (the castle of Inverness) had already met with: a clear demonstration that Ascanius did not now think it necessary to have a garrison in that part of the country. But being still incommoded by Lord Loudon, who lay at the back of the adventurers, with only the Frith of Murray between them, the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromarty, and some other chiefs, resolved to attempt the surprising of Loudon, by the help of boats, which they drew together on their side of the Frith. By favour of a fog they executed their scheme so effectually, that, falling unexpectedly upon the earl's forces, they cut them off, made a good many officers prisoners, and forced Loudon to retire with the rest out of the county of Sutherland.

But though these advantages made much noise, and greatly contributed to keep up the spirits of Ascanius's party, yet in the end they proved but of little service to him. Money now was scarce with him, and supplies both at home and abroad fell much short of his expectation; and his people began to grumble for their pay, and demanded their arrears, which could not be speedily satisfied: a sure presage of the ruin of his whole party. Let us now return to the duke, and see what he has been doing since we conducted him to Aberdeen.

Though the rigour of the season, the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of supporting so many men as he had under his command, were sufficient to exercise the abilities of the most experienced general, yet the duke disposed them in such a manner as proved effectual, both for safety and subsistence, and at the same time took care to distress the adventurers as much as possible; for, the very day after he came to Aberdeen, he detached the Earl of Ancrum with 100 dragoons, and Major Morris with 300 foot, to the Castle of Corgarf, at the head of the river Don, 40 miles from Aberdeen, and in the heart of the country then possessed by the adventurers, and wherein they had a large magazine of arms and ammunition, which the earl had orders to seize or destroy. This was executed with great facility, for, upon his lordship's approach, the garrison abandoned the place with precipitation, not taking time to carry off their stores. However, for want of horses, he could not carry off all the booty, and was forced to destroy most of the arms, and above 30 barrels of powder.

March 16th, The duke received advice, that Colonel Roy Stewart, one of the chiefs of the adventurers, had posted himself at Strathbogie, with 1000 foot and a troop of hussars. Hereupon Lieutenant-General Bland was sent, with a strong detachment, to attack him, and Brigadier-General Mordaunt was ordered after him with another party, to support Bland if occasion should be. The next day Bland arrived at Strathbogie; but as soon as Stewart perceived the enemy, he quitted the place, and retired towards Keith. Though the weather was wet and hazy, yet the Marquis of Granby, Conway, and Captain Holden, with the volunteers, continued the pursuit. But fortune, though she had thus far seemed to favour these gentlemen, played them a slippery trick at last; for Bland detached a captain of Argyleshire Campbells, with 70 of his men, and 30 of Kingston's horse, to clear the village of Keith, and,

then rejoin the army; they, contrary to these directions, ventured to quarter in the place that night. This gave the adventurers an opportunity to surprise the captain and his party, which they improved; for, returning to Keith in the night, they surrounded it, entered it at both ends, and furiously attacked the Argyleshire-men, who defended themselves with great resolution, but were at last most of them cut to pieces: however, they sold their lives very dear. The Duke of Kingston's horse did not come off much better, the cornet who commanded them escaping with only one third of his men. But this accident made the duke's people more circumspect for the future, and nothing of that kind happened afterwards. Indeed the dispositions made by the duke put all attempts of that sort out of the power of Ascanius, who watched for such opportunities, and, had they occurred, he would doubtless have improved them to the utmost: though at that time unable to encounter the Georgians in the open field, had the adventurers found means to surprise them, they might have ended the dispute at one blow, and Ascanius had perhaps been enabled to make a second and more successful expedition into England.

The duke's army was cantoned in three divisions. The first line, consisting of six battalions; Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons lay at Strathbogie, within eleven miles of the river Spey, and was commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, assisted by Major-General Bland. The second line, consisting of six battalions and Lord Mark Ker's dragoons, lay at Aberdeen; and the third line, or corps of reserve, consisting of three battalions, with four pieces of cannon, were stationed at Old Meldrum, half-way betwixt Strathbogie and Aberdeen.

Brigadier Stapleton, of his most Christian Majesty's forces, was sent by Ascanius to besiege Fort-William; he had with him a large corps of the best adventurers, and a pretty good train of artillery, and arrived at Glenavis, in the neighbourhood of this

fortress, March 5d. About this time, his detachment took a boat belonging to the Baltimore sloop, Captain Howe, employed in the service of the garrison of Fort-William. On the other hand, Captain Askew, of the Serpent sloop, sent his own boat, with another of the Baltimore's, and a third that belonged to the garrison, and forced Stapleton's people from the narrows of Carron, where they were posted, and made themselves masters of all the boats they had in these parts: this was on March 4th, and proved a most important and well-timed piece of service to the government.

As the siege of Fort-William was the only regular operation of that kind which happened in the continuance of this civil war, a journal of it, as drawn up by an officer employed in the siege, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Journal of the Siege of Fort-William.

March 14th, The adventurers continuing in the neighbourhood of Fort-William, and the garrison at last perceiving that they were to undergo a siege, began to heighten the parapets of their walls on the side where they apprehended the attack would be made. This work lasted a whole week, and the two faces of the bastions were raised 7 feet high.

15th, A detachment of the garrison, with some men belonging to the sloops of war before mentioned, went in armed boats to attempt the destroying of Kilmady Barns, commonly called the Corpoch. Stapleton having notice of their motions, and suspecting their intention, sent out a strong party to frustrate it; however, the falling of the tide contributed as much as any thing to the miscarriage of this scheme. Some firing indeed passed on both sides, but little damage was done on either. On the side of the garrison, a sailor was killed, and three men were wounded; the adventurers had five men wounded, four of them mortally.

18th, The Baltimore went up towards Kilmady

Barns, in order to cover the landing of some men for a fresh attempt upon the place. They threw some cohorn shells, and set one hovel on fire: but the king's party were, nevertheless, prevented from landing, the Adventurer's party firing upon them, with great advantage, from behind the natural intrenchments of a hollow road or till. The Baltimore's guns, being only 4-pounders, had no effect upon the stone walls of the Corpoch; however, the sloop and the king's forces retired without any damage. On the side of the adventurers, one of their principal engineers was killed, but no other hurt. This day 5 centinels, and a drummer of Guise's regiment, who had been taken at Fort-Augustus, made their escape from the Highlanders, and got safe into Fort-William.

On the 20th, several parties of the garrison being appointed to protect their turf-diggers, frequent skirmishes happened between them and Stapleton's people; but as both parties skulked behind craigs and rocks, so neither received any damage.

The same evening, the adventurers opened the seige, discharging at the fort 17 royals or small bombs, of 5 inches and a half diameter, weighing about 16 and 18 pounds each, and loaded with 14 ounces of powder; these were played off from a battery erected on a small hill, named the Sugar-loaf, about 800 yards off, which being at too great distance, the ordinance did little execution, the greatest part falling short. On the other hand, the garrison answered the besiegers, with 8 bombs of 13 inches diameter, 6 cohorns, one 12-pounder and 2 swivels.

21st, The adventurers finding that their batteries were too far off, erected a new one at the foot of the Cow-hill, about 400 yards off, from which, between 12 and 4 in the morning, they discharged 84 of their royals, which did little damage, except penetrating through the roofs of several houses, and slightly wounding three men. The garrison this day answered the besiegers, with 20 bombs, 9 cohorns, 36 pounders, and 2 swivels.

22d, The besiegers opened their battery of cannon, from Sugar-loaf hill, consisting only of 3 guns, 6 and 4-pounders, but discharged only seven times, and that without doing any damage. About 12 o'clock, the same day, General Stapleton sent a French drum to the fort, upon whose approach, and beating a parley, Captain Scott, commander of the garrison, asked him what he came about? The drummer answered, that General Stapleton, who commanded the siege, by directions from Ascanius, had sent a letter to the commanding-officer of the garrison, requiring him to surrender. To this Captain Scott replied, I will receive no letters from rebels, and am determined to defend the fort to the last extremity. The drummer returning to Stapleton with this answer, a close bombarding ensued on both sides for some hours; but at last the garrison silenced the besiegers, by beating down their principal battery. However, about ten that night, they opened another bomb-battery, near the bottom of the Cow-hill, about 300 yards off, from which, and from their battery upon Sugar-loaf hill, they discharged, before three in the morning, 194 of their royals and 6 cannon against the fort; but all this without doing any other mischief than the demolition of the roofs of a few houses. The garrison did not return them one shell, but kept all their men within doors, except the piquet to stand by the fire-engine, the governor and most of the officers being upon the ramparts.

23d, As soon as daylight appeared, the garrison fired 23 bombs, 2 cohorns, 2 12-pounders, 7 6-pounders, and 6 swivels, at the besiegers' batteries, some of which tore up their platforms. The adventurers, in return, fired as briskly as they were able upon the fort; but it did the besieged no other damage than shooting off the leg of a private soldier.

The same day, about 3 in the afternoon, some vessels appeared with supplies for the besieged, who, on sight of the ships, all at once discharged eight 12-pounders, two 6-pounders, 2 bombs, and some co-

horns, against the besiegers' batteries, which were so well levelled as to do great execution, and occasioned much confusion among the adventurers, who, besides the damage done their batteries, had several men killed and many wounded: however, to cheer the men, the officers gave out, that they would certainly burn the fort within four hours after their next new battery was erected; and, accordingly, all this evening the people were employed in erecting another work or battery, under cover of their cannon, and at the distance of 300 yards, at the foot of the Cow-hill.

24th, Neither party fired much, and the garrison employed most part of the day in getting their supplies of provisions on shore.

25th, At daybreak, Captain Scott sent out a party, to a place about six miles off, to bring in some cattle. The adventurers fired very briskly this morning, and the garrison plied them a little with their mortars and guns. About 3 in the afternoon, the aforementioned party returned with nineteen good bullocks and cows. The same evening, another detachment went from the fort for another prize of bullocks, with orders to pass the narrows of Carron, and to get off all they could from the adjacent estates of the adventurers.

26th, The garrison fired slowly at the besiegers' batteries on the hills; and, as the latter only fired from two, the former perceived that they had dismounted the third. In the afternoon the last-mentioned party returned with a booty of black cattle and sheep, from the country near Ardshiels; they also brought in four prisoners, one of whom was dangerously wounded; they had likewise burned two villages belonging to one of the chiefs of the adventurers, with the whole estate of the unfortunate Appin.

The same night Captain Scott went out and dammed up some drains near the walls of the fort, in hopes of rainy weather, to make a small inundation; and with some prisoners raised the glacis or rather pa-

rapet to 7 feet. For want of palliasdes, the garrison could not make a right covered way; but then this might hinder the besiegers from seeing the foot of their walls.

27th, At daybreak, the adventurers opened their new battery of four embrasures, but only with 3 guns, 6-pounders, with which, however, they fired very briskly; but the garrison plying them with their mortars and guns, silenced one of the besiegers' guns before 8 in the morning. About 9 the magazine battery of the besiegers was set on fire, and it blew up. This day the garrison received no other damage than the wounding of 2 men and the governor's horse in the stable. The adventurers had 5 men killed, and 9 dangerously wounded

31st, Captain Scott ordered 12 men from each company to march out to the craigs, about 100 yards from the walls, where the adventurers had a battery; which, after some dispute, and the loss of a serjeant of the Argyleshire Highlanders, the men from the garrison made themselves master of. The victors brought off from this battery, 3 brass field pieces, 4-pounders, and 2 cohorns, from which the besiegers threw their shells; also, another brass cannon, 6-pounder, which being too heavy to draw in, they spiked and left under the wall, whence they afterwards dismounted it by cannon-shot. The other large cannon and mortars, on that battery, they likewise spiked and left there, and brought away 2 prisoners. The adventurers, however, still continued with 5 cannon, they had yet mounted, to give the garrison all the disturbance in their power, and destroyed the roofs of most of the houses: but they did not mind that, the men being safe.

April 5d, The adventurers received orders from Ascanius to quit the siege immediately, and to join him at Inverness with all possible speed. Hereupon General Stapleton retired from the place with the utmost precipitation, and repaired to Inverness.

As soon as Captain Scott perceived they had turn-

ed their backs on the fort, he detached a party, which secured 8 pieces of cannon and 7 mortars, the adventurers not having time to carry off such cumbersome moveables. The miscarriage of this enterprize may be considered as the immediate prelude to the many disasters which afterwards befel the adventurers, one misfortune immediately following upon the heels of another, till their affairs became quite desperate, and their force entirely crushed by the decisive action of Culloden.

The reason of this sudden and hasty retreat of the adventurers from before Fort-William, was the necessity Ascanius was under of drawing together all his forces in the neighbourhood of Inverness, upon the approach of the Duke of Cumberland with his army. But before we come to treat of the measures taken by the adventurers after the raising of this siege, it is requisite that we give some account of another misfortune that befel them, which was no less fatal in its consequences.

We have already observed, that they were in great distress for money and other necessaries, and waited impatiently for a supply from France, which they hoped (notwithstanding the miscarriage of so many vessels that had been fitted out for Scotland) would soon arrive, on board the Hazard sloop, which they had named the Prince Charles Snow, and which they had intelligence was at sea, with a considerable quantity of treasure from France, and a number of experienced officers and engineers, who were very much wanted.

March 25th, This long-looked for vessel arrived in Tongue Bay, into which she was followed by the Sheerness sloop of war, Captain O'Brian, who immediately attacked her. In the engagement the Hazard had many men killed, and not a few wounded; so that, unable to maintain the fight, she ran ashore on the shallows, where the Sheerness could not follow her, and there landed her men and money. The place on which she ran ashore, after being chased 50

leagues, was in the Lord Rea's country, and it happened there was then in his lordship's house, his son Captain Mackay, Sir Henry Monroe, Lord Charles Gordon, Captain Macleod, and about 80 of Lord Loudon's men, who had retired thither, when the adventurers, under the Duke of Perth and the Earl of Cromarty, attacked them by boats, as hath been before related. These gentlemen, having animated the soldiers, advanced against the people who had landed from the Hazard, and, though the latter, were superior in number, gained a complete victory, without much bloodshed on either side: for not much above four men of the adventurers fell, and not one of the other party, though many were wounded. Besides five chests of money, and a considerable quantity of arms, the victors took 156 officers, soldiers, and sailors, prisoners, with whom they embarked on board the Sheerness, and sailed directly for Aberdeen, in company with another prize which Captain O'Brian had taken in the Orkneys. The money, exclusive of one chest which was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broken, amounted to 12,500 guineas; and amongst the prisoners were 41 experienced officers, who had been long either in the French or Spanish service.

At the same time that Ascanius employed so many of his forces attacking Fort-William, he sent another body, commanded by Lord George Murray, to make a like attempt upon the castle of Blair, the principal seat of the Duke of Athol, but of no great force, and in which there was only a small garrison, under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew; which siege, or rather blockade, Lord George raised with the same hurry on the approach of the Earl of Crawford with a party of English and Hessians, as Stapleton did that of Fort-William, upon the very same day, and from the very same motives.

Having thus, in as clear and succinct a manner as possible, run through all the operations of the adventurers, and shewn how their several bodies were

drawn off, in order to join the corps under Ascanius at Inverness, and enable him to make a stand there, in case the Duke of Cumberland should pay him a visit on that side the Spey; let us now return to the latter, whom we left properly disposed to march, as soon as the season and roads would permit, in hopes of putting an end to all the future hopes of Ascanius by one general and decisive action.

The duke's troops, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the fatigues they had endured by making a double campaign, were, at the beginning of April, so well refreshed, and in such excellent order, that they were in all respects fit for service; and so far from apprehending any thing from the impetuosity of the Highland adventurers, or the advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid river, that they showed the greatest eagerness to enter upon action. But, though the duke encouraged, and took every possible measure to keep up this ardour in his army, yet he acted with great deliberation, and did not move till the weather was settled, when there was no danger that the cavalry should suffer for want of forage.

At length, April 8th, the Georgian army moved from Aberdeen, and encamped on the 11th at Culloden, where the Earl of Albemarle joined them. Here, all the troops being assembled, the duke gave orders for their immediately passing the river Spey. Meantime, Ascanius was continually busied in a council of war, which was held day and night, and in which it was debated, whether or not they should suffer the Georgians to pass the river, and then to come to action; or whether they should defend the banks, in order to gain time, by obliging the duke to remain on the other side. Ascanius, with the warmth of a young general, argued for the latter measure; but most of the other chiefs were of opinion that it would be less hazardous to adhere to the first. The old Duke of Athole, alias the Marquis of Tullibardine, with great coolness and judgment, advised to give

the enemy a free passage, if it should prove that they really were determined to attempt it. "They are "(said he) well provided with cannon and engineers, "of both which we are in great want: consequently, "they have it in their power to cover the passage of "their troops, and mow down whole ranks on the "opposite shore, while we are destitute of the like "means for opposing them with any prospect of "success; and what other means can we trust to? "to our swords and small fire-arms we cannot, for "their cannon will not suffer us to come within "musket-shot of the river. In short, I believe no "gentleman here can, after mature consideration, "reasonably hope for success by attempting to "hinder the enemy's passage. If we do attempt to "hinder them, and prove unable, we are ruined in-"evitably; it will be impossible to rally and bring "our men to renew the conflict after our enemies "have got ample footing on this side the river. And, "on the other hand, will it not, at the same time, "be too late to make any other retreat than a mere "flight for our lives; and, after such flight, can we "ever hope to face the enemy again? But, if we "remain here, and suffer them to pass over to us, "we have a fairer chance; we shall then have time "enough to get ready for a regular action, or a re-"gular retreat, according as circumstances occur. "If we fight, we have the same advantage that we "had at Gladsmuir and Falkirk; if we retreat, we "may take our time, and, having a sufficient distance "betwixt us and the enemy, may march off either "in the day or night, and shall have leisure enough "to cover our rear. I said, we have the same ad-"vantage as at Falkirk and Gladsmuir, and I may "further add, that we have also a chance which can-"not turn out to our disadvantage, and may prove "of infinite service to us: if we come to action with "the enemy, after they are entirely on this side the "Spey, and gain an entire victory over them, we "may possibly cut them entirely off, before they

"can find means to repass the river. In this case, "their force in Scotland will be absolutely ruined; "we shall carry all before us in this kingdom, and "perhaps none on this side London shall be able to "stop our progress: one lucky battle may yet put us "in possession of that capital."

The noble old lord pronounced the latter part of his speech with so warm an emphasis, as produced a great effect on the young officers, and even upon Ascanius: however, after a long debate, it was resolved to follow the marquis's advice, and suffer the enemy to pass the river without opposition. In the mean time, Ascanius prepared to attack the duke. Nor was he disheartened by his enemy's superior numbers, whom, however, he did not despise, though he had already twice vanquished them; and much less did he despise the known valour and capacity of the duke, aspiring to no greater honour than the vanquishing of so noble an enemy.

Early in the morning of April 12th, fifteen companies of English grenadiers, the Argyleshire and other Highlanders of that party, and all the duke's cavalry, advanced towards the Spey, under the conduct of the duke, assisted by Major-General Huske. They no sooner arrived on the banks of the river, than the cavalry began to pass it, under cover of two pieces of cannon. Meantime, about 2000 adventurers, who had been posted near to this part of the river, retired as the enemy passed over; and thereupon Ascanius began to call in his out-parties, as was before related.

Kingston's horse were the first that forded the river, sustained by the grenadiers and Highlanders; the foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and, though the water was rapid, and some places so deep that it came up to their breasts, they went through with great cheerfulness, and without any other loss than one dragoon and four women. The duke's army marched to Elgin and Forres the same day, and from thence to Nairn, where they halted on the 15th. Meantime, Ascanius was busied in preparing to attack the enemy, in encouraging his troops, and col-

lecting his men, which, however, he had not time to do, and some of the clans did not arrive till it was too late; in short, his army, at this time, did not amount to more than 7000 men, so that it was no extraordinary thing for the Georgians, much superior in number, to defeat them, when animated and inspired by the presence and noble example of so gallant a general as the duke.

The memorable battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th of April 1746. Ascanius had formed a design of surprising his enemies on the 15th, while they were at Nairn, but was prevented by the vigilance and strict discipline of the duke. The scene of battle was a moor not far from Inverness, and near Lord President Forbes's house, called Culloden-house, and from which the battle took its name. We have had several accounts of this important action; but the clearest, as well as the most authentic, is that dispatched by the Duke of Cumberland to the king his father, dated Inverness, April 18th; and to this I think it is best to adhere. Neither Ascanius, nor any one of his party, had an opportunity after the fight, during his stay in Scotland, to draw up an account of it; nor has he, or his friends, thought proper to give the world this satisfaction, though frequently solicited at the court of Versailles to give a more succinct account of that day's action.

Account of the Battle of Culloden, drawn up by order of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched, between four and five, in four columns. The three lines of foot (reckoning the reserve for one) were broken into three from the right, which made three columns equal, and each of five battalions. The artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right, and the cavalry made the fourth on the left.

After we had marched about eight miles, our advanced guards, composed of about 40 of Kingston's

A Return *March of the King's Army,*
April 16, 1746.

.....

3. Mordaunt.....Lord Sempill.

Reg....Price.....Royal.
Royal Sc
Howard
Barrel
Wolfe
Pulteney
Price
Bligh
Campbell
Sempill
Blackeney
Cholmondeley
Fleming
Dejean
Conway
Battereau

Fusileers.....Cholmondeley.

....Bligh.....Howard.

....Sempill.....Fleming.

....Battereau.....Pulteney.

Horse.....General Hawley.
Cannon.

the Argyleshire men, Ker's and
n's, and Kingston's horse, were

n's horse, and some Argyleshire
nt in the van, and first discovered

Park wall, broke down by the Campbells.
Lord George Murray.
Athol, 600.
Lochiel, 600.
Appin, 200.
Cluny, 500.
Lovat, 500.
M'Intosh, 400.
Right flank,.....400.
Piquets, by Stapleton.
Fitz-James's horse.
Third column,.....800.
Colonel Roy Stuart's and those of the above who have only guns.

horse, and the Highlanders, led on by the quarter-master-general, observed the rebels at some distance, making a motion towards us on the left, upon which we immediately formed; but, finding they were still a good way from us, and that the whole body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our march in our former posture, and continued it till within a mile of them, when we formed again in the same order as before. After reconnoitring their situation, we found them posted behind some old walls and huts in a line with Culloden-house.

As we thought our right entirely secure, General Hawley and General Bland went to the left with two regiments of dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right flank of the enemy, and Kingston's horse were ordered to the reserve. Ten pieces of cannon were disposed, two in each of the intervals of the first line, and all our Highlanders (except about 140, which were upon the left with General Hawley, and behaved extremely well,) were left to guard the baggage.

When we were advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, we found the morass upon our right was ended, which left our right flank quite uncovered to them. His royal highness thereupon ordered the Duke of Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a little squadron, of about 60 of Cobham's horse, that had been patroling, to cover our flank; and Pulteney's regiment was also ordered from the reserve to the right of the royals.

We spent about half an hour after that in trying which should gain the flank of the other; and, in the mean time, his royal highness sent Lord Bury (son to the Earl of Albemarle) forward, to within 100 yards of the enemy, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared to us like a battery. On Lord Bury's approach, the enemy immediately began firing their cannon, which was extremely ill-served and ill-pointed. Ours as immediately answered them, and with great success, which began their confusion. They

then came running on in their wild manner; and, upon the right, where his royal highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest push would be made there, they came down three several times within 100 yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords; but the royals and Pulteney's hardly took their fire-locks from their shoulders each time before the enemy retreated, abashed at the havock made among them by the fire-arms of the English; so that, after these faint attempts, they made off, and the little squadron on our right was sent to pursue them.

Meantime, General Hawley had, by the help of our Highlanders, beat down two little stone walls, and came in upon the right flank of the enemy's line.

As their whole first line came down to attack all at once, their right somewhat out-flanked Barrel's regiment, which was our left, and the greatest part of the little loss we sustained was there; but Bligh's and Semple's giving a smart fire upon those who had out-flanked Barrel's, soon repulsed them, and Barrel's regiment and the left of Monroe's fairly beat them with their bayonets: there was scarce a soldier or officer of Barrel's, or that part of Monroe's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each, with their bayonets and spontoons.

The cavalry, which had charged from the right and left, met in the centre, except two squadrons of dragoons, which he missed, and they were going in pursuit of the runaways. Lord Ancram was ordered to pursue with the horse as far as he could; and he did it with so good effect, that a very considerable number was killed in the pursuit.

As we were on our march to Inverness, and were near arrived there, Major-General Bland sent a small packet to his royal highness, containing the terms of surrender of the French officers and soldiers whom he found there; which terms were no other than to remain prisoners of war at discretion. Major-General Bland had also made great slaughter, and had

taken about 50 French officers and soldiers prisoners in the pursuit. By the best calculation that can yet be made, it is thought the rebels lost 2000 men upon the field of battle and in the pursuit.

I have omitted the lists, annexed to the above account, as well for the sake of brevity as because they could not be exact at that time, but were afterwards much enlarged. Among the French prisoners were Brigadier Stapleton and Marquis de Giles, (who acted as ambassador from the most Christian King to Ascanius,) Lord Lewis Drummond, and above 40 officers more, who all remained prisoners at large in the town of Inverness, upon their parole of honour.

The loss on the side of the victors was but inconsiderable: the only persons of note killed were Lord Robert Kerr, captain in Barrel's regiment; Captain Grosset, of Price's; Captain John Campbell, of the Argyleshire militia: besides these, about 50 private men were killed, and 240 wounded.

The number of prisoners taken by the English in this signal victory were 230 French and 440 Scots, including a very few English of the adventuring party, who, unhappily for themselves, had continued in the army of Ascanius till this fatal day. All the artillery, ammunition, and other military stores of the adventurers, together with 12 colours, several standards, and amongst them Ascanius's own, fell into the hands of the victors. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the action; Lord Balmerino, who at first was reported to be killed, was taken soon after by the Grants, and delivered up to the English. Four ladies who had been very active in the service of Ascanius, were likewise taken at Inverness, viz. Lady Kinloch, Lady Ogilvie, Lady M'Intosh, and Lady Gordon.

Immediately after the adventurers had quitted the field, Brigadier Mordaunt was detached with 900 of the volunteers into Lord Lovat's country, to reduce the Frasers, and all others who should be found in

arms there; and, with the like view, other detachments were sent into the estates of most of the adventuring chiefs, which put it entirely out of Ascanius's power afterwards to get together any considerable number of troops. In short, the adventurers who escaped the battle were now necessitated to separate into small parties, in order to shift the better for themselves.

The Earl of Cromarty was not at the battle: this lord had been ordered by Ascanius into his own country to raise men and money; but this order proved fatal to the Earl, who, almost at the very instant when Ascanius was defeated at Culloden, was taken prisoner by a party of Lord Rae's men and a few others, who surprised his lordship, his son, Captain M'Leod, and a great many other officers, with above 150 private men: they were conveyed on board the Hound sloop of war, and carried to Inverness.

That the reader, whether Englishman, Scotsman, Frenchman, or of any other nation, may know in what light the Georgians in general looked upon this important event, I shall quote a reflection from a writer, who, though a zealous whig, has honestly and impartially summed up and repeated only what was about this time remarked in almost all companies, both public and private.

"Thus (says he) the flame of this rebellion, "which, after being smothered for a time in Scot- "land, broke out at last with such force as to spread "itself into England, and, not without reason, "alarmed even London itself, that great metropolis, "was in a short space totally extinguished by him "who gave the first check to its force, and who, "perhaps alone, was capable of performing this "service to his country, his father, and his king.*

* *Query*, Whether this author was aware how great a compliment he, by this expression, directly pays to Ascanius.

"It is sufficiently known how great a hazard the "person runs of displeasing him who praises his "royal highness; but the regard we owe to truth, "justice, and the public, obliges one on this occa- "sion to declare, that Providence particularly made "use of him as its most proper instrument in per- "forming this work. He it was who revived the "spirits of the people, by the magnanimity of his "own behaviour; he, without severity, restored dis- "cipline in the army; he prudently suspended his "career at Aberdeen till the troops recovered their "fatigue, and the season opened a road to victory; "he waited with patience, chose with discretion, "and most happily and gloriously improved that op- "portunity which blasted the hopes of the rebels, "and has secured to us the present possession and "future prospect of the wisest and best-framed con- "stitution, administered by the gentlest and the "most indulgent government Europe can boast."

The humility, piety, and humanity of the Duke of Cumberland are no less conspicuous and admira- ble, on this occasion, than his prowess. Humility, when merely constitutional, is a noble qualification: the humble man is generally esteemed by all, and he alone stands fairest for advancement. But this qua- lity is most excellent when it proceeds from the fear and love of God; for he that, sensible of his own weakness, walks in a constant dependence upon God for every blessing, is sure of his powerful assistance, and of being exalted above every evil in this world, and in that which is to come.

This divine and moral disposition gives us un- speakable pleasure in those who are eminent in life; so that, to hear or read of a great man speaking humbly of himself, when reflecting upon the mercy and love of God, is matter of greater joy to us, than to hear of his conquering kingdoms.

The signal mercy of our God, in delivering us from those who came to destroy or enslave us, has caused an universal joy, some expressing it one way, and

some another: but all join in extolling the Duke of Cumberland as the principal deliverer of his country under God Almighty. Amidst all these acclamations, how beautiful a scene must it be, to behold his highness modestly attributing all the glory to God! That this is the case, I think plainly appears from a worthy ejaculation of the duke's, a little after the late engagement, which I had from good authority.

The rebellion being now suppressed, the legislature resolved to execute justice upon those who dared to disturb the tranquillity of their country.

We proceed now to give an account of the punishment of the principal persons who embarked in such a desperate enterprise, the history whereof the reader has heard. Amongst these, Lord Balmerino, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff, make the greatest figure. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty and Lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster Hall. The two earls confessed their crime, but Balmerino pleaded not guilty, and moved a point of law in arrest of judgment. The point was, that his indictment was in the county of Surrey, and so he ought to be tried where the act of treason was said to have been committed: however he waved this plea, and submitted to the court.

The speeches made by the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty to their peers, to intercede for them with his majesty, are extremely elegant and pathetic. As they are well worth the reader's perusal, we thought proper to insert them.

The Earl of Kilmarnock's speech.

May it please your Grace and my Lords—I have already, from a due sense of my folly, and the heinousness of those crimes with which I stand charged, confessed myself guilty, and obnoxious to those punishments which the laws of the land have wisely

provided for offences of so deep a dye; nor would I have your lordships to suspect, that what I am now to offer is intended to extenuate those crimes, or palliate my offences: no, I mean only to address myself to your lordships' merciful disposition, to excite so much compassion in your lordships' breasts, as to prevail on his grace and this honourable house to intercede with his majesty for his royal clemency.

Though the situation I am now in, and the folly and rashness which has exposed me to this disgrace, cover me with confusion, when I reflect upon the unsullied honour of my ancestors, yet I cannot help mentioning their unshaken fidelity and steady loyalty to the crown, as a proper subject to excite that compassion which I am now soliciting. My father was an early and steady friend to the revolution, and was very active in promoting every measure that tended to settle and secure the Protestant succession in these kingdoms: he, not only in his public capacity, promoted these events, but in his private supported them, and brought me up and endeavoured to instil into my early years those revolution principles which had always been the rule of his actions.

It had been happy for me, my lords, that I had been always influenced by his precepts, and acted up to his example: yet I believe, upon the strictest enquiry, it will appear, that the whole tenor of my life, from my first entering into the world, to the unhappy minute in which I was seduced to join in this rebellion, has been agreeable to my duty and allegiance, and consistent with the strictest loyalty.

For the truth of this, I need only appeal to the manner in which I have educated my children, the eldest of whom has the honour to bear a commission under his majesty, and has always behaved like a gentleman: I brought him up in the true principles of the revolution, and an abhorrence of popery and arbitrary power: his behaviour is known to many of this honourable house; therefore, I take the liberty to appeal to your lordships, if it is possi-

ble that my endeavours in his education could have been attended with such success, if I had not myself been sincere in those principles, and an enemy to those measures which have now involved me and my family in ruin. Had my mind at that time been tainted with disloyalty and disaffection, I could not have dissembled so closely with my own family, but some tincture would have devolved to my children.

I have endeavoured, as much as my capacity or interest would admit, to be serviceable to the crown on all occasions; and, even at the breaking out of the rebellion, I was so far from approving of their measures, or showing the least proneness to promote their unnatural scheme, that, by my interest in Kilmarnock, and places adjacent, I prevented numbers from joining them, and encouraged the country, as much as possible, to continue firm to their allegiance.

When that unhappy hour arrived wherein I became a party, which was not till after the battle of Prestonpans, I was far from being a person of any consequence amongst them. I did not buy up any arms, nor raise a single man in their service. I endeavoured to moderate their cruelty, and was happily instrumental in saving the lives of many of his majesty's loyal subjects, whom they had taken prisoners: I assisted the sick and wounded, and did all in my power to make their confinement tolerable.

I had not been long with them before I saw my error, and reflected with horror on the guilt of swerving from my allegiance to the best of sovereigns; the dishonour that it reflected upon myself, and the fatal ruin which it necessarily brought upon my family. I then determined to leave them, and submit to his majesty's clemency, as soon as I should have an opportunity; for this I separated from my corps at the battle of Culloden, and staid to surrender myself a prisoner, though I had frequent opportunities, and might have escaped with great ease; for the truth of which I appeal to the noble person to whom I surrendered.

But, my lords, I did not endeavour to make my escape,* because the consequences in an instant appeared to me more terrible, more shocking, than the most painful, or most ignominious death. I chose therefore to surrender, and commit myself into the king's mercy, rather than throw myself into the hands of a foreign power, the natural enemy to my country, with whom, to have merit, I must persist in continued acts of violence to my principles, and of treason and rebellion against my king and country.

It was with the utmost abhorrence and detestation I have seen a letter from the French court, presuming to dictate to a British monarch the manner how he should deal with his rebellious subjects. I am not so much in love with life, nor so void of a sense of honour, as to expect it upon such an intercession: I depend only on the merciful intercession of this honourable house, and the innate clemency of his sacred majesty.

But, my lords, if all I have offered is not a sufficient motive to your lordships to induce you to employ your interest with his majesty for his royal clemency in my behalf, I shall lay down my life with the utmost resignation; and my last moments shall be employed in fervent prayers for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain.

Earl Cromarty's speech.

My Lords—I have now the misfortune to appear before your lordships, guilty of an offence of such a nature as justly merits the highest indignation of his majesty, your lordships, and the public; and it was from a conviction of my guilt, that I did not pre-

* His lordship, afterwards, (that he might not die with an untruth,) owned this to be a false state of the fact, with a view to excite compassion; for, thinking that he was advancing towards Fitz-James's horse, he intended to get behind a dragoon, to facilitate his escape.

sume to trouble your lordships with any defence. As I have committed treason, it is the last thing I would attempt to justify. My only plea shall be, your lordships' compassion—my only refuge, his majesty's clemency. Under this heavy load of affliction, I have still the satisfaction, my lords, of hoping that my past conduct, before the breaking out of the rebellion, was irreproachable; also my attachment to the present happy establishment, both in church and state: and, in evidence of my affection to the government, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, I appeal to the then commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces at Inverness, and to the lord president of the Court of Session in Scotland, who, I am sure, will do justice to my conduct on that occasion. But, my lords, notwithstanding my determined resolution in favour of the government, I was unhappily seduced from that loyalty, in an unguarded moment, by the arts of desperate, designing men; and it is notorious, my lords, that no sooner did I awake from that delusion, than I felt a remorse for my departure from my duty: but it was then too late.

Nothing, my lords, remains, but to throw myself, my life, and my fortune, upon your lordships' compassion; but of these, my lords, as to myself, it is the least part of my sufferings. I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy and regard to his parents hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved also eight innocent children, who must needs feel their father's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my lords, be pledges to his majesty, let them be pledges to your lordships, let them be pledges to my country, for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears, let the powerful language of innocent nature, supply my want of eloquence and persuasion; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it; and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to efface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his majesty, through the mediation of your lordships, for mercy,

let my remorse for my guilt, as a subject, let the sorrow of my heart, as a husband, and the anguish of my mind, as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your lordships are men, feel as men; but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of my anguish.

But if, after all, my lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune, and my family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands of public justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me; "not mine, but thy will, O "God, be done."

The court pronounced sentence of death against the whole three; but the life of Cromarty was spared, and his other two associates were ordered to be beheaded.

There is something in the misfortunes of great men which generally attracts attention: we shall not stay here to investigate the philosophic reason of this; perhaps it arises from the contrast betwixt their grandeur and the miseries into which they are plunged, that the generality of mankind are so curious to be informed of every circumstance in their misfortunes. To gratify a curiosity natural to the human mind, we shall give a particular account of the manner of the execution of these unfortunate gentlemen, and some striking circumstances in their behaviour immediately before their death.

The day appointed for the execution of Kilmarnock and Balmerino was the 18th of August 1746. Accordingly, at six o'clock, a troop of life-guards, one of the horse grenadiers, and 1000 of the foot-guards, (being fifteen men out of each company), marched from the parade in St. James's Park, through the city to the Tower-hill, to attend the execution of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, and having arrived there, were posted in lines from the Tower to the scaffold, and all around it. About

eight o'clock, the sheriffs of London, with their under sheriffs and officers, viz. six serjeants at mace, six yeomen, and the executioner, met at the Mitre Tavern, in Fenchurch-street, where they breakfasted, and went from thence to the house lately the transport-office, on Tower-hill, near Catherine Court, hired by them for the reception of the said lords, before they should be conducted to the scaffold, which was erected about thirty yards from that house. Precisely at ten o'clock, the block was fixed on the stage, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of saw-dust were brought up to strew on it; soon after their coffins were brought, covered with black cloth, ornamented with gilt nails, &c. On the Earl of Kilmarnock's was a plate with this inscription, *Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus* 18 *Augusti*, 1746, *ætat. suæ* 42, with an earl's coronet over it, and six coronets over the six handles; and on Lord Balmerino's was a plate with this inscription, *Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus* 18 *Augusti*, 1746, *ætat. suæ* 58, with a baron's coronet over it, and six others over the six handles. At a quarter after ten, the sheriffs went in procession to the outward gate of the Tower, and, after knocking at it some time, a warder within asked, who's there? the officer without replied, the sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The warder then asked, what do they want? the officer answered, the bodies of William Earl of Kilmarnock and Arthur Lord Balmerino; upon which the warder within said, I will go and inform the lieutenant of the Tower; and in about ten minutes, the lieutenant of the Tower, with the Earl of Kilmarnock,* and Major White, with Lord Balmerino, guarded by several of the warders, came to the gate: the prisoners were there delivered to the sheriffs, who gave proper receipts for their bodies to the lieutenant, who, as is

* At the foot of the first stairs, he met and embraced Lord Balmerino, who gravely (as Mr. Foster observed) said to him, "My Lord, I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition."

usual, said, "God bless King George;" to which the Earl of Kilmarnock assented by a bow, and the Lord Balmerino said, "God bless King James." Soon after, the procession, moving in a slow and solemn manner, appeared in the following order: 1. The constable of the Tower-hamlets; 2. Knight-marshal's men and tip-staves; 3. The sheriffs' officers; 4. The sheriffs, the prisoners, and their chaplains—Mr. Sheriff Blackford walking with the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Mr. Sheriff Cockayne with Lord Balmerino; 5. The Tower-warders; 6. A guard of musqueteers; 7. The two hearses and a mourning coach. When the procession had passed through the lines into the area of the circle formed by the guards, the passage was closed, and the troops of horse, who were in the rear of the foot on the lines, wheeled off, and drew up five deep behind the foot, on the south side of the hill, facing the scaffold.

The lords were conducted into separate apartments in the house, facing the steps of the scaffold, their friends being admitted to see them. The Earl of Kilmarnock was attended by the Rev. Mr. Foster, a dissenting minister, and the Rev. Mr. Hume, a near relation to the Earl of Hume; the chaplain of the Tower, and another clergyman of the church of England, accompanied Lord Balmerino, who, on entering the door of the house, hearing several of the spectators ask eagerly, "which is Lord Balmerino?" answered, smiling, "I am Lord Balmerino, gentlemen, at your service." The parlour and passage of the house, the rails enclosing the way from thence to the scaffold, and the rails about it, were all hung with black, at the sheriffs' expense.

The Lord Kilmarnock, in the apartment allotted to him, spent about an hour in his devotions with Mr. Foster, who assisted him in prayer and exhortation.

After which, Lord Balmerino, pursuant to his request, being admitted to confer with the Earl, first thanked him for the favour, and then asked, "if his

" lordship knew of any order signed by the prince, " (meaning the Pretender's son.) to give no quarter " at the battle of Culloden?" On the earl answering " No," the Lord Balmerino added, " Nor I either, " and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify " their own murders." The earl replied, " he did " not think this a fair inference, because he was in- " formed, after he was taken prisoner at Inverness, " by several officers, that such an order, signed " George Murray, was in the duke's custody."— " George Murray!" said Lord Balmerino, " then " they should not charge it on the prince." Then he took his leave, embracing Lord Kilmarnock with the same kind of noble and generous compliments as he had used before: " My dear Lord Kilmarnock, " I am only sorry that I cannot pay this reckoning " alone; once more farewell for ever!" and returned to his own room.

Then the earl, with the company, kneeled down, joining in a prayer delivered by Mr. Foster; after which, having sat a few moments, and taken a second refreshment of a bit of bread and a glass of wine, he expressed a desire that Lord Balmerino might go first to the scaffold; but being informed that this could not be, as his lordship was named first in the warrant, he appeared satisfied, saluted his friends, saying he should make no speech on the scaffold, but desired the ministers to assist him in his last moments; and they, accordingly, with other friends, proceeded with him to the scaffold. On this awful occasion, the multitude, who had been waiting with expectation, on his first appearing on the scaffold, dressed in black, with a countenance and demeanour* testifying great contrition, showed the deepest signs of commiseration and pity; and his lordship, at the same time, being struck with such a variety of dreadful objects at once, the multitude, the block, his cof-

* His person was tall and graceful, his countenance mild, and his complexion pale, and more so as he had been indisposed.

fin, the executioner, and instrument of death, turned about to Mr. Hume, and said, "Hume! this is "terrible," though without changing his voice or countenance.

After putting up a short prayer, concluding with a petition for his Majesty King George and the royal family, in verification of his declaration in his speech, his lordship embraced and took his last leave of his friends. The executioner, who before had something administered to keep him from fainting, was so affected with his lordship's distress and the awfulness of the scene, that, on asking him forgiveness, he burst into tears. My lord bid him take courage, giving him at the same time a purse with five guineas, and telling him he would drop his handkerchief as a signal for the stroke. He proceeded, with the help of his gentleman, to make ready for the block, by taking off his coat, and the bag from his hair, which was then tucked up under a napkin-cap; but this being made up so wide as not to keep up his long hair, the making it less occasioned a little delay: his neck being laid bare, tucking down the collar of his shirt and waistcoat, he kneeled down on a black cushion at the block, and drew his cap over his eyes, in doing which, as well as in putting up his hair, his hands were observed to shake. But, either to support himself, or as a more convenient posture for devotion, he happened to lay both his hands upon the block, which the executioner observing, prayed his lordship to let them fall, lest they should be mangled or break the blow. He was then told that the neck of his waistcoat was in the way; upon which he rose, and, with the help of a friend, took it off, and the neck being made bare to the shoulders, he kneeled down as before. In the mean time, when all things were ready for the execution, and the black baise which hung over the rails of the scaffold, having, by direction of the colonel of the guard or the sheriffs, been turned up, that the people might see all the circumstances of the execution, in about two minutes (the

time he before fixed) after he kneeled down, his lordship dropping his handkerchief, the executioner at once severed his head from his body, except only a small part of the skin, which was immediately divided by a gentle stroke. The head was received in a piece of red baise, and, with the body, immediately put into the coffin. The scaffold was then cleared from the blood, fresh saw-dust strewed, and, that no appearance of a former execution might remain, the executioner changed such of his clothes as appeared bloody.

In the account said to be published by the authority of the sheriffs it is asserted, that the Lord Kilmarnock requested his head might not be held up as usual, and declared to be the head of a traitor; and that, for this reason, that part of the ceremony was omitted, as the sentence and law did not require it: but we are assured, in Mr. Foster's account, that his lordship made no such request; and, further, that when he was informed that his head would be held up, and such proclamation made, it did not affect him, and he spoke of it as a matter of no moment. All that he wished or desired was, 1. That the executioner might not be, as represented to his lordship, a good sort of man, thinking a rough temper would be fitter for the purpose; 2. That his coffin, instead of remaining in the hearse, might be set upon the stage; 3. That four persons might be appointed to receive the head, that it might not roll about the stage, but be speedily, with his body, put into the coffin.

While this was doing, Lord Balmerino, after having solemnly recommended himself to the mercy of the Almighty, conversed cheerfully with his friends, refreshing himself twice with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, and desired the company to drink to him *ain degrae ta haiven*, acquainting them that he had prepared a speech, which he should read on the scaffold, and therefore should here say nothing of its contents. The under-sheriff coming into his lordship's

apartment, to let him know the stage was ready, he prevented him, by immediately asking, if the affair was over with Lord Kilmarnock? and, being answered it was, he inquired how the executioner performed his office? and, upon receiving the account, said, It was well done. Then addressing himself to the company, said, Gentlemen, I shall detain you no longer; and, with an easy, unaffected cheerfulness, he saluted his friends, and hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with so easy an air as astonished the spectators. His lordship was dressed in his regimentals, a blue coat turned up with red, trimmed with brass buttons, and a tie-wig, the same which he wore at the battle of Culloden: no circumstance in his whole deportment showed the least sign of fear or regret, and he frequently reproved his friends for discovering either upon his account. He walked several times round the scaffold, bowed to the people, went to his coffin, read the inscription, and with a nod, said, It is right: he then examined the block, which he called his pillow of rest. His lordship, putting on his spectacles, and taking a paper out of his pocket, read it with an audible voice, which, so far from being filled with passionate invective, mentioned his majesty as a prince of the greatest magnanimity and mercy; at the same time, that, through erroneous political principles, it denied him a right to the allegiance of his people. Having delivered this paper to the sheriff, he called for the executioner, who appearing, and being about to ask his lordship's pardon, he said, "Friend, you need not "ask me forgiveness, the execution of your duty is "commendable:" on which his lordship gave him three guineas, saying "Friend, I never was rich; this "is all the money I have now; I wish it were more, "and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my coat "and waistcoat," which he then took off, together with his neckcloth, and threw them on his coffin. Putting on a flannel waistcoat, which had been provided for the purpose, and then taking a plaid-cap

out of his pocket, he put it on his head, saying, he died a Scotsman. After kneeling down at the block, to adjust his posture, and show the executioner the signal for the stroke, which was dropping his arms, he once more turned to his friends, took his last farewell, and, looking round on the crowd, said, "Perhaps some may think my behaviour too bold; but remember, sir, (said he to a gentleman who stood near him), that I now declare it is the effect of confidence in God and a good conscience, and I should dissemble if I showed signs of fear."

Observing the axe in the executioner's hand, as he passed him, he took it from him, felt the edge, and, returning it, clapped him on the shoulder, to encourage him; tucked down the collar of his shirt and waistcoat, and showed him where to strike, desiring him to do it resolutely, for in that, said his lordship, will consist your kindness.

He went to the side of the stage, and called up the warder, to whom he gave some money; asked which was the hearse, and ordered the man to drive near.

Immediately, without trembling or changing countenance, he again knelt down at the block, and having, with his arms stretched out, said, "O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, and receive my soul," he gave the signal by letting them fall: but his uncommon firmness and intrepidity, and the unexpected suddenness of the signal, so surprised the executioner, that, though he struck the part directed, the blow was not given with strength enough to wound him very deep; on which it seemed as if he made an effort to turn his head towards the executioner, and the under jaw fell and returned very quick, like anger and gnashing the teeth; but it could not be otherways, the part being convulsed. A second blow, immediately succeeding the first, rendered him, however, quite insensible, and a third finished the work.*

* If we were to draw his character, abstracted from the consideration of his being an enemy to the pre-

His head was received in a piece of red baize, and with his body put into the coffin, which, at his particular request, was placed on that of the late Marquis of Tullibardine's, in St. Peter's church in the Tower, all the three lords lying in one grave.

During the whole course of the solemnity, although the hill, scaffoldings, and houses, were crowded full of spectators, all persons behaved with uncommon decency, and evenness of temper; which evinces how much the people entered into the rectitude of the execution, though too humane to rejoice in the catastrophe.

Lord Balmerino had but a small estate, though ground-landlord and lord of the manor of Calton, a long street in the suburbs of Edinburgh, leading to Leith, and had also some other small possessions in the shire of Fife. His lady came to London soon after him, and frequently attended him during his confinement in the Tower, having lodgings in East Smithfield. She was at dinner with him when the warrant came for his execution the Monday following, and being very much alarmed, he desired her not to be concerned at it. If the king had given me mercy, said he, I should have been glad of it; but since it is otherwise, I am very easy; for it is what I sent happy government, we should call him a blunt, resolute man, who would, if his principles had not been tainted with Jacobitism, have appeared honest in the eyes of those who love sincerity; but he was not so happy as to be loyal. His person was very plain, his shape clumsy, but his make strong, and had no marks about him of the polite gentleman, though his seeming sincerity recompensed all those defects. He was illiterate, considering his birth, but rather from a total want of application to letters than want of ability. Several quaint stories are related concerning him, which seem to be the growth of wanton and fertile imaginations; which is not at all to be wondered at, in times that afford so much matter for invention. He left a lady behind him, whom he called his Peggy, to whom, at his request, his majesty allowed L.50 a-year. Whether he had any children, we are not able to say.

have expected, and therefore it does not at all surprise me. His lady seemed very disconsolate, and rose immediately from table; on which he started from his chair, and said, "Pray, my lady, sit down, for it "shall not spoil my dinner;" upon which her ladyship sat down again, but could not eat.

Several more of his sayings were related, as remarkable: among others, that being advised to take care of his person, he replied, "it would be thought "very imprudent in a man to repair an old house "when the lease of it was so near expiring."

In November following, Ratcliff was arraigned on a former sentence passed against him in 1716. He pleaded that he was a subject of the King of France, and had a commission in the service of his most Christian Majesty; meaning, that he was not Charles Ratcliff, but the Earl of Derwentwater. But the identity of his person being proved, a rule was ordered to be made for the proper writs of his decapitation on the 8th December 1746. Accordingly, about eight o'clock, two troops of life-guards and one troop of horse-guards marched through the city for Little Tower-hill, where they were joined by a battalion of foot-guards, to attend the execution of Charles Ratcliff, Esq. About ten o'clock, the block, with a cushion, both covered with black, were brought up, and fixed upon the stage; and soon after Mr. Ratcliff's coffin, covered with black velvet, with eight handles, which, with the nails, were gilt with gold; but there was no plate, or any inscription upon it. At near eleven, the sheriffs, Mr. Alderman Winterbottom and Mr. Alderman Alsop, with their officers, came to see if the scaffold was finished, (the carpenters, &c. who had very short notice, having worked all day on Sunday and the ensuing night,) and if every thing was prepared for Mr. Ratcliff's reception; which being to their satisfaction, they went to the Tower, and demanded the body of Mr. Ratcliff from General Williamson, deputy-governor. Upon being surrendered, he was put into a landau, and

carried over the wharf, at the end of which he was put into a mourning coach, and conveyed into a small booth joining to the stairs of the scaffold, lined with black, where he spent about half an hour in devotion, and then proceeded with the sheriffs, the divine, and some gentlemen, his friends. When he came upon the scaffold, he took leave of his friends with great serenity and calmness of mind, and, having spoken a few words to the executioner, gave him a purse of ten guineas, and put on a damask cap; he then knelt down to prayers, which lasted seven minutes, all the spectators on the scaffold kneeling with him. Prayers being over, he pulled off his clothes, and put his head to the block, from whence he soon got up, and having spoke a few words he knelt down to it, and fixing his head, in about two minutes gave the signal to the executioner, who at three blows struck it off, which was received in a scarlet cloth, held for that purpose. He was dressed in scarlet, faced with black velvet, trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, and a white feather in his hat. He behaved with the greatest fortitude and coolness of temper, and was no way shocked at the approach of death. His body was immediately put into his coffin, and carried back in a hearse to the Tower, and the scaffold, booth, and all the boards belonging to them, were cleared away in the afternoon. He had behaved himself very alert until the 4th, when he received a letter from his niece, Lady Petre, which engaged him to appear in a more serious manner, agreeable to his unhappy fate. His corpse was, on the 11th, carried in a hearse, attended by two mourning coaches, to St. Giles's in the Fields, and there interred with the remains of the late Earl Derwentwater, according to his desire, with this inscription on his coffin,

Carolus Ratcliff, Comes de Derwentwater,
Decollatus die 8 *Decembris*, 1746,
ætatis 55.
Requiescat in Pace.

It seems the Derwentwater estate was only confiscated to the crown for the life of Charles Ratcliff, Esq.; but, by a clause in an act of parliament, passed some years since, which says, that the issue of any person attainted of high treason, born and bred in any foreign dominion, and a Roman Catholic, shall forfeit his reversion of such estate, and the remainder shall for ever be fixed in the crown, his son is absolutely deprived of any title or interest in the affluent fortune of that ancient family, to the amount of better than L.200,000.

This unhappy gentleman was the youngest brother of James Earl of Derwentwater, who was executed in 1716: they were sons of Sir Francis Ratcliff, by the Lady Mary Tudor, natural daughter to King Charles II. by Mrs. Mary Davis.

He was, with his brother, taken at Preston, tried, convicted, and condemned, but several times respited, and probably would have been pardoned, had he not, with thirteen others, made his escape out of a room called the Castle, in Newgate, through a small door, which had been accidentally left open, leading to the master-side debtors, where the turnkey, not knowing them, let them out of prison, supposing they were persons who had come to see their friends.

He immediately got a passage to France, and from thence followed the Pretender to Rome, subsisting on such a petty pension as his master could allow him. But, returning some time afterwards to Paris, he married the relict of Livingston, Lord Newbourgh, by whom he had a son.

In 1733 he came to England, and resided some time at Mr. John's, in Pall-Mall, without any molestation, though it was known to the ministry, and returned to France. He came back again to England in 1735, and solicited his pardon, but without success, though he appeared publicly, and visited several families in Essex. Returning again to France, he accepted of the French king's commission, to act as an officer in the late rebellion; and, embarking

with his son and several other Scotch and Irish officers, on board the Esperence privateer, for Scotland, was taken by his Majesty's ship the Sheerness; and, when he landed at Deal, was very arrogant to the king's officers, till they told him they intended to use him like a gentleman, but he was going to put it out of their power.

He died in the principles in which he had lived, and was so zealous a papist, that, on the absurdities of some things which are held sacred by the church of Rome being stated to him, he replied, "That for "every tenet of that church repugnant to reason, "in which she requires an implicit belief, he wished "there were twenty, that he might thereby have a "nobler opportunity of exercising and displaying "his faith."

Lord Lovat was impeached by the Commons. After the articles of impeachment were read to him, he made a long speech at the bar, signifying the esteem he had for his majesty and the royal family; and enumerated divers instances of the great service he did the government in extinguishing the rebellion in 1715. He likewise took notice of his infirmities, particularly his deafness, and said he had not heard one word of the charge against him. He was convicted on the evidence of his own domestics, and accordingly condemned to be beheaded. He was turned of fourscore; and, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, the recollection of his conscience, (which was supposed not to be quite free of offence), he died like an old Roman, exclaiming, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori, i. e.* it is pleasant and glorious to die a patriot. He surveyed the crowd with attention, examined the axe, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life, one would have concluded that he went on principles that he was thoroughly persuaded he died a martyr for patriotism, and that he had a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

Besides these, there were several others of less dis-

tinction convicted and executed: seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged at Kensington-common, near London; nine were put to death in the same manner at Carlisle; six at Brumpton; seven at Penrith; and eleven at York: some few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations.

There were some circumstances in the manner of the execution of some of the criminals, on this occasion, which cannot but give offence to a humane and delicate mind. Before they were quite dead, they were cut down from the gallows, their heads severed from their bodies, their bowels and heart torn out, and some of them thrown into a fire. Perhaps this was rather cruelty than justice; and yet, if we consider the extraordinary circumstances of their crimes, these things were in some measure necessary; not, indeed, when considered under the notion of justice executed upon the criminals, but to give all a dreadful impression of the heinousness of the crime of rebellion against the state, and thereby deter them from all such treasonable practices.

Pity it is that, in some instances, there should be a clashing betwixt the feelings of humanity and those of self-preservation. Shocking as the circumstances of the execution were, yet we find that at that time many of the spectators gave loud shouts of applause: the triumph of ignoble souls, unaspired by sentiment, and insensible to the tender and delicate feelings of humanity! The mind, indeed, must necessarily disapprove the crime, and condemn the criminal; but, to give shouts of applause at the sufferings of our fellow-creatures, betrays a rude and savage disposition: however, indeed, it was scarce to be expected, that the blind English mob, * who are stupid and insensible to every thing, should possess the finer feelings of the heart.

* The same blind, stupid, and insensible turn of mind seems to run through the rabble of every nation.

JOURNAL

OF

THE MIRACULOUS ESCAPE OF THE YOUNG CHEVALIER.

BOOK II.

AFTER the Highlanders gave way at the battle of Culloden, the prince was forced off the field by Major Kennedy and the other officers, while the French forces and a few Scotch kept the duke's army for some time at bay, to prevent an immediate pursuit.

A great number of gentlemen went to guard the prince safe off, and crossed the river Nairn, four miles from Inverness, where a council was held, wherein it was agreed that Fitz-James's and the rest of the horse should go to Ruthven in Badenoch. Here it was the prince first despaired, and desired the gentlemen to disperse, that their enemies might be baffled by the variety of their routs: and, accordingly, the honourable Charles Boyd, second son to the Earl of Kilmarnock, and some others, kissed the prince's hand, and went off on their respective routs.

These, then, with some gentlemen, proceeded directly to Tosda-rack, nine miles from Inverness; but that place having been abandoned, they were forced five miles farther to Aberardar, in M'Intosh's country; then to Faroline, five miles in Lovat's country; and then a mile more to Castle-laige, or Gortuliage, where they met Lord Lovat, and drank two or three glasses of wine.

Here Lord Elcho took his leave, and set forwards for Kinloch-moidart, where he arrived a few days after the battle, not a little disgusted that greater deference had not been hitherto paid him.

Hither the prince was attended, by Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir David Murray, aid-de-camp; Sullivan, Alexander M'Leod, another aid-de-camp, and son of Mr. John M'Leod, advocate; John Hay, secretary in Murray's absence; Edward Burke, Alexander M'Leod's man; Mr. Hay's man, and Allan M'Donald, a priest, employed as a guide.

About ten o'clock at night, Ascanius and his few attendants proceeded on their journey; and, about four or five in the morning, they arrived at Glengary, or Invergary castle, where they found only one man, who said that Glengary and his family were absent, and had left no provisions or furniture in the house; so the prince was obliged to lie for some time on the floor, without any refreshment.

When daylight appeared, Edward Burke found a net, which he drew, and catched two salmon, on which they dined very well.

Here this company was ordered to disperse, and part took leave and went for Arnaby; the rest, Sullivan, Allan M'Donald, and Edward Burke, the guide, staying to attend the prince.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, the prince set forward with his three companions, having dressed himself in Burke's clothes, and went to Donald Cameron's, at Glenbien, in Lochiel's country, where they arrived about nine in the evening.

On the 18th, the prince went to Mewboll, in Clanronald's country, where he staid all night, was well entertained, and got some sleep, which he had not got for five days and nights; he and his army having been in action, under arms, marching and counter-marching, without sleep or much meat, for forty-eight hours before the battle.

The next day, being the 19th, the prince waited some hours in hopes of getting intelligence of some of his friends; but, hearing nothing, he was obliged to set out on foot, the horse-road not only being about, but so bad, as to be scarce if at all passible; and, therefore, walked over almost inaccessible mountains

to the Glen of Morar, or Kenloch-morar, and thence to Boisdale, or Boradale, in Arisaig, Clanronald's country, through as bad ways as can be conceived. Hither Mr. Eneas M'Donald, the banker, came to the prince, who had wrote for him, and returned again that night to his brother's house at Kinloch-moidart. About two days after that, Lord Elcho and O'Neil got to Kinloch-moidart.

Here the prince waited several days, till Captain O'Neil came to him, by Sir Thomas Sheridan's directions, and told him that all hopes of drawing his troops together again were now over; on which he resolved at last to go to the western islands, whence he thought he could get a vessel for France.

Strong were the debates here about quitting the continent of Scotland for the isles. The Highlanders were against so dangerous a step; but, at last, Sullivan's advice, whose head had injured his master more than once, prevailed, asserting a greater probability of getting ships about the isles, and the great danger of staying on the continent: but the prince, following this advice, had like to have lost his life many ways and many times, as we shall find in the sequel.

In one day three several messengers got to Donald M'Leod, who had been with Mr. Eneas M'Donald to the isles, to feteh some money from the Isle of Barra, and was returning when the battle was ended; these three were sent to order M'Leod to repair to the prince at Boradale.

Pursuant to this summons, Donald went, and in going through a wood, on the 20th or 21st of April, met the prince alone. The prince, seeing Donald, advanced boldly, and asked, Who was he? what was he? which Donald answering daringly, said, My name is Donald M'Leod. "Oh! thou art Donald "M'Leod of Gualtergil, in the Isle of Sky?" Yes, said Donald: then, said the prince, "you see the "distress I am in; I therefore throw myself into "your bosom, and do with me what you like; I am "your prince."

In repeating these words, the poor old man burst into a flood of tears, and said, "I hope, Sir, (to the "person he was relating this to) you will pardon me, "for who can refrain from tears at so doleful a "thought: oh! had you seen but the man, and the "place, and the distress—oh! it would have moved "the Grand Turk." Donald having wiped his eyes, proceeded, and said, "He told the prince, that as he "(Macleod) was old, he was afraid he could be of lit-"tle use, but yet was willing to do what he could." "Then (said the prince) I desire you will go with "these letters from me to Sir Alexander M'Donald "and the laird of M'Leod; for I still think those "gentlemen, notwithstanding what they have done, "will have humanity and honour enough to give "their protection to the wretched, whose crime is "only bad luck and misfortune."

These generous sentiments acting so powerfully in the breast of a prince, so as to give him a confidence in the honour and humanity of any one who was a gentleman, had struck Donald with surprise, and he immediately cried out: "Oh! Sir, I would do "any thing for you but this. Your highness knows "they have played the rogue already, and you must "not trust them again; for, at this very time, they "are in search for you with their forces, and are "within ten or twelve miles of you, if they come by "sea, though it is more by land; therefore, the "sooner you remove from this place the better."

Upon Donald's council, as above, the prince desired, "that, as he was a good pilot, he would conduct "him through the islands, to some safer place:" which Donald M'Leod readily agreed to; and, accordingly, procured an eight-oared boat, the late property of John M'Donald, son of Eneas or Angus M'Donald of Boradale.*

* This John was either killed at the battle of Culloden, or murdered the next day; for he has never been heard of since.

Donald M'Leod also bought a pot to boil meat in when they should arrive on shore, and a firlot (*i.e.* four pecks, or a quarter of a boll) of meal, being all the provision to be got there.

On the 26th, they went on board with twilight, in the evening, at Locknanua, in Boradale, the very same place where the prince first landed on the continent of Scotland, and Boradale-house the first he entered. There were in the boat, the prince, O'Neil, Sullivan, Allan M'Donald of Clanronald's family, and Donald M'Leod, their pilot, and betwixt whose knees the prince sat: the boatmen were, Roderick M'Donald, Lauchlan M'Murrish, Roderick M'Askgill, John M'Donald, Murdoch M'Leod, son to the pilot, Duncan Roy, Alexander M'Donald, and Edward Burke (who had conducted the prince from the battle of Culloden to this place.) The above Murdoch M'Leod was then only fifteen years old, and when he heard of the speedy appearance of a battle, provided for himself a claymore (broad sword), a durk (small dagger), and a pistol, and went to the battle of Culloden; whence he escaped, though hurt, and hunting out the prince all the way, followed him, and here overtook him and his own father.

I cannot help remarking here, that the prince must have been greatly admired in this country, when this lad could hunt him out, so as to find him, when his enemies could not; so cautious were the people not to tell where he was when his life was in danger.

When they were about to go into the boat, Donald M'Leod begged the prince not to go that night, because it would prove a storm; but the prince was anxious to quit danger, and, being determined, he would go.

They had not gone far before the storm began, and was as great as Donald had ever seen on that coast, with an additional grief, that it rained as if a deluge was approaching; and, what was still worse,

they had neither pump nor compass, the night was as dark as pitch, and they knew not where they were. This increased their fears, lest they should be driven on the Isle of Sky, where the militia were in arms; but the morning light appearing, they found themselves on the coast of Long Isle, (as that chain of isles is commonly called here), where, about seven o'clock in the morning, with great difficulty, they landed at a point called Rushness, in the N. E. part of the Isle of Benbicula, and hauled their boat on dry land; having run thirty leagues in eight hours, a most extraordinary quick passage.*

Thus this storm, which the whole crew thought a great misfortune at first, turned to be one of the most providential things that could happen: but so wanton is the frailty of human nature, that we often find fault with that which Providence sees best for us; for this storm prevented any immediate attempt to pursue the prince, and all the boats that were out with such views, were forced to put into land; as nothing but the immediate hand of Providence could support this open boat against such weather; which looked to the boatmen as miraculous as the escape of Jonah out of the whale's belly. Very luckily for the prince, it was thought he had sailed for St. Kilda in the north; a place so remote, that no suspicion could be readily entertained of his being there.†

It being imagined that the prince was gone to St. Kilda, General Campbell, with a considerable force, was ordered to pursue him there.

On the sight of the fleet of Campbell, the inhabitants fled to hide themselves in the cliffs of rocks,

* This isle lies in 57 degrees 40 min. N. lat. is about five miles long from E. to W. and three miles broad from N. to S. and lies betwixt North and South Uist islands.

† This place belongs to the laird of M'Leod, and the people there pay their rents in feathers of the solon geese, for which that laird's factor goes thither annually.

being terrified, having never seen such a fleet or sight before.

Some of the forces being landed, inquired of such of the inhabitants as they could find, what was become of the Pretender? they answered, "they had "never heard of such a name or such a man. They "said, indeed, they heard a report that their laird "(M'Leod) had lately been at war with a great wo- "man! a great way abroad; but that he had got the "better of her; and that was all they knew of the "affairs of the world!"* So the general made a fruitless expedition.

The prince here (in Benbicula) got on shore into an uninhabited hut, and helped to make a fire to warm the crew, who were almost perished with cold and wet. This storm continued for fourteen hours after they landed.

Here the prince bought a cow for 3 s. and immediately shot her, and had some of her boiled in the pot which Donald M'Leod had bought for them. After which the prince lay down on the floor, having no other bed than an old sail-cloth, and slept very sound; but the crew were obliged to keep a good look-out, by regular watches.

They staid two nights in this place, and on the 29th, in the evening, the weather growing favourable, they set sail about six o'clock, for Stornaway, in the Isle of Lewis, in N. lat. 58. d. 8 m. where Donald M'Leod did not doubt but he should be able to procure a proper vessel to convey the prince safe to France. They took some of their beef with them, and set sail; but, meeting with another storm, they were obliged to put into the Isle of Scalpa, or Glass, near the Harris, belonging to the laird of M'Leod, which is about 14 leagues N. of Benbicula.†

* What a happy state of ignorance this is, if they are instructed in the true revealed religion; especially, if we consider the miseries of this busy world, governed only by ambition, pride, envy, and ill-will.

† This island is about one mile long, and half a mile broad.

Here they all went on shore about two hours before daylight on the 30th, in the morning, and passed for merchants shipwrecked in their voyage to the Orkneys; the prince and Sullivan going by the name of Sinclair, the latter for the father, and the former for the son, and were well entertained at one Donald Campbell's house, a farmer.

The next day, May 1st, Donald M'Leod, so often mentioned, procuring a boat of their landlord, Campbell, went to Stornaway, with instructions to freight a vessel for the Orkneys.

On the 3d of May, the prince received a message from M'Leod that a ship was ready; whereupon he, next day, got another boat with four men, and landed at Loch Shefort in M'Kennin's country, where Allan M'Leod took his leave, and went for South Uist.

The prince, having then O'Neil, Sullivan, and his guide with him, set out on foot for Stornaway, which is about thirty miles by land, and arrived at the point of Arynish, about half a mile S. E. of Stornaway, on the 5th, about noon: having travelled 18 hours on the hills, in a wet stormy night, without any kind of refreshment, and were misled by their guide, either through ignorance or design, having conducted them eight miles out of the way, when they might have avoided that trouble, by crossing the ferry from Scalpa to the Harris, which is about a quarter of a mile over. This, though they then thought it a misfortune, proved to be the very providential means of preventing the prince from being taken, which, had they arrived there sooner, would have been the case, as we shall see presently.

From this place the prince sent his guide to Donald M'Leod at Stornaway, desiring he would send some brandy, bread, and cheese, for they were almost starved and famished. The faithful Donald soon brought it himself to the prince and his two companions on the moor, all wet to the skin, and much wearied with their journey. Whereupon Donald

took them to Lady Kildun's (M'Kenzie) at Aryllish, to wait there till every thing should be ready for setting sail; while the prince being wearied, went to sleep.

This done, Donald M'Leod returned to Stornaway, but was greatly surprised to find the men there rising in arms, above 200 having already got up. Donald, not knowing what was the occasion of this rising, went directly into the room where the gentlemen were, and asked, "what was the matter?" on which they immediately began to curse him, saying, "We "hear the prince is upon the Lewis, and not far from "Stornaway, coming with 500 men to burn the "town, and take away our cattle, &c. and to force a "vessel from Stornaway, to carry him to France." Donald replied, "I think you are all mad; where "the devil could the prince, in his present condition, "get either 500 or 100 men?" They replied, "That "Mr. John M'Aulay, a presbyterian minister in "South Uist, had wrote this to his father in the "Harris, and the father had sent the same to Mr. "M'Kenzie, minister in the Lewis."* "Well then," said Donald, "since you know the prince is already "in the island, I own he is; but he is so far from "having any forces, that he has only two compe-"nions, and, when I am there, I make a third: and "let me tell you further, gentlemen, if Seaforth "himself was here, he durst not, by God, put a "hand to the prince's breast."

Upon this, the M'Kenzies declared that they had no intention to do the prince the least harm; but desired that he might leave them, and go to the continent or any where else. The wind being fair, Donald M'Leod then desired a pilot; but they refused. Donald then returned to the prince, and gave him a full and honest account how matters stood; on which they were all at a loss what step to take. Some pro-

* This island belongs to Lord Seaforth, and is inhabited by the M'Kenzies.

posed to fly to the moor; but the prince replied, he would not. "I'll stand my ground, (said he) for if "we fly, our enemies may be encouraged to pur-"sue.

Now the reader may observe, that had not the prince been taken eight miles out of the way by the guide, he would have been in the town of Stornaway when Mr. M'Aulay's letter to Mr. Colin M'Kenzie arrived, and then the people would have risen upon him, and have either killed him in their fury, or taken him prisoner; from both of which he was thus very providentially saved.

At this time, the prince, O'Neil, and Sullivan, had only six shirts amongst them, and were frequently obliged to strip off the dirty ones before the others were half dry.

Two of the four boatmen had fled up to the moor upon seeing the people rising at Stornaway; and the other two went to the sea with the boat.

While they were at Lady Kildun's, they killed a cow, for which the prince would have paid, but she at first refused, till the prince insisted upon it. When they left the place, they took some of the cow with them, two pecks of meal, and plenty of brandy and sugar; and, at parting, Lady Kildun gave Edward Burke a lump of butter.*

They staid here all night, and about two o'clock in the morning, being the 6th of May, the two boatmen returned with the boat; and as soon as daylight appeared, they all rowed away, with only two boatmen, the rest not returning from the moor.

The prince and company resolved to go in Donald Campbell's boat to the Orkneys, but the men would not venture; so they were obliged to steer south along the coast side, hoping to meet with better success. They soon espied two English ships, which

* This man was generally cook; but the prince was the best cook, and made them a cake or bread of the brains of the cow, mixed up with meal, and baked it upon a stone before the fire.

obliged them to put into a desert island, called Eairn or Iffurt, half a mile both in length and breadth. It is twelve miles distant from Stornaway, and lies a little north of Scalpa or Glass. At this place there were some fishermen, who, taking the prince's boat to be a press-boat belonging to the men of war, ran away, leaving their fish, pots, &c. The fishermen of Lewis dry their fish upon the rocks; some of it, which the prince and company found, was a great feast. The prince, at first, was for leaving some money when he took the fish; but, considering that would show that some person of note had been there, it might be attended with bad consequences, he took the money again.

They staid on this island until the 10th, lying in a low pitiful hut, belonging to the fishermen, so ill roofed that they were obliged to spread the boat's sail over the top of it, and lie upon the bare floor, keeping watch by turns.

On the 10th of May, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, they embarked for Harris, taking about two dozen of fish with them, and got to Scalpa, or Glass, to their hospitable farmer's again. In this place they offered money for a boat, it being safer and better than the one they had, but could not get it. Wind not serving, they were obliged to row.

About daybreak, on the 11th, the wind rising, they hoisted sail; and, being short of food, made drammack (stappack) of salt water mixed with meal, of which the prince ate heartily, and got a bottle of brandy, and helped a dram to each person.

Soon after this, they were chased by an English ship, commanded by Captain Ferguson; but they escaped among the rocks, at the point of Roudil, in Harris, M'Leod's country. The ship followed them three leagues. They kept close on shore, and sailed to Lochmaddy, to the south of the Uist, next to Lochmiskiway, in Benbicula, and then to an island in that loch, called Loch-Escaby, where they arrived about four in the afternoon.

In this voyage they were within two musquet-shot of the ship, before they saw her, at Finslay in the Harris. They were to the windward, and the ship was in the mouth of the bay, so they made all the haste they could to the coast of Benbicula. In this course, they saw another ship in Lochmaddy, in North Uist. They had scarce got on shore when the wind very remarkably turned quite contrary, and blew and rained very hard, which drove the ships that were pursuing quite off. At this the prince said, "I see I must now escape; I now see that Provi-"dence will not let me be taken alive at this time."

It being now low water, one of the boatmen went among the rocks and catched a partan, or crab fish, which he held up to the prince in great joy; who, taking a cog or wooden pail in his hand, went and partook in the diversion, which soon filled their cog.

There was no house, cottage, or hut, nearer than two miles, and that only a poor one; however, when they set out, the prince took up the cog full of partans, and marched away with it; but the faithful Donald M'Leod ran after him, and desired to carry it, which he refused, saying, "If I carry this, Donald, "every one of the company will take more or less "of our baggage, and then it will be more equally "divided amongst us; therefore I will not part with "this, for I am better able to carry it than you;" and accordingly he carried it.

When they came to the hut, it was so low that they were obliged to creep into it upon their hands and knees; therefore Edward Burke was ordered to work part of the ground away about the door, to make the entrance easier.

At this hut, the laird of Clanronald went to pay his respects to the prince, and promised his assistance to get him safe out of the kingdom; towards which his lady afterwards assisted, for she sent the prince six good shirts, some brandy and wine, and every thing else that was necessary and comfortable.

On the 16th, it was thought proper that the prince

should remove from this nasty hut, and go sixteen miles farther in the country, as far as the mountain of Durradale or Corradale, in South Uist, and there wait till fortune was more favourable; having first sent Donald M'Leod, in Campbell's boat, to the continent of Scotland, with letters to Lochiel and John Murray, the secretary, to know how affairs stood, and to bring cash and brandy to the prince.

Donald met Lochiel and Murray at the head of Loch Arkaig; but got no money at all from Murray, who said, "he had none to give, for that he had "only sixty louis d'ors for himself."

Having received the answers from Lochiel and Murray, with great difficulty he purchased two anchors of brandy, at one guinea each anchor. "At "this time (said Donald) the prince looked upon "Murray as one of his honest, firm friends; but, "alas! he was mistaken."

Donald immediately returned, and found the prince at Corradale, where he left him, having been eighteen days away upon this expedition; but found him in a better hut, with two cow-hides placed upon sticks to prevent the rain from falling upon him when asleep. During M'Leod's absence, the prince diverted and supported himself and company with hunting, shooting, and fishing, for he used often to go down to the foot of the hill upon the shore, and there go on board a small boat, which was rowed a little way, and then with hand-lines catched lyths, somewhat like a young cod; and he used also to shoot deer and other game.

It is surprising to think that the prince could be kept safe above three weeks in such a place, when upwards of 100 people knew where he was, and his enemies were daily out upon the scout on all sides. Both Clanronald and his brother Boisdale saw the prince at Corradale.

The militia, about this time, went to the island of Itaski, lying between the islands of Barra and South Uist, which is about three miles long and one broad.

and was the first British ground Ascanius landed on. The militia, I say, having got thither, obliged him and his company to think of parting and shifting their quarters.

On the 14th of June, the prince, O'Niel, Sullivan, Edward Burke, and Donald M'Leod, sailed from the foot of Corradale in Campbell's boat, and landed in Ouia or Fovaya, an island lying between South Uist and Benbicula.

Here they staid four nights; and, on the 18th, the prince, O'Niel, and a guide, went to Rushness, and Sullivan and M'Leod were left in Ouia. Here the prince staid two nights, and then, receiving information that the militia were coming towards Benbicula, it was necessary to get back again to the foot of Corradale. But he scarce knew what to do, as the militia boats had been some time between Ouia and Rushness. Donald M'Leod and Sullivan, hearing of this, set sail in the night, and brought the prince from Rushness to Corradale again; but, meeting with a violent storm, and heavy rain, they were forced into Ushness Point, two miles and a half off Corradale, called Achkirsideallish, a rock upon the shore, in a cleft of which they took up their quarters. This storm lasted a whole day.

At night, finding their enemies within two miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at Celiestiella; from whence they steered for Loch-Boisdale, till a man on board swore there was a long-boat before them in their way, no doubt full of marines, and would go no farther, although Donald M'Donald was positive to the contrary, assuring them that it was nothing but a little rock in the water, which he knew very well, that had the appearance of a boat at a distance: yet the sailors would not believe him, and returned to Celiestiella, where they staid that night, and got next day to Loch Boisdale. There they got the disagreeable news of Boisdale's being made a prisoner, &c. When they first set out from Corradale for Loch Boisdale, they espied three sail

within common-shot of the shore by daybreak, and therefore were obliged to return back again to Celiestiells, in South Uist.

One day, as the prince was sailing up and down Loch Boisdale, Donald M'Leod asked him, if he once got the crown, "what he would do with Sir "Alexander M'Donald and the laird of M'Leod? "O, Donald! (said the prince,) would they not be "our own people still, let them now do what they "will? what they have done is not all to be imputed "to their fault; but it is altogether owing to the "power President Forbes has over their judgments in "these matters. Besides, (continued he,) if ever the "kingdom was restored, we should be as sure of them "for friends as the other people are now, they be-"ing always for those in most power. I blame "indeed (said the prince,) young M'Leod much more "than his father, for he was introduced to me in "France, and solemnly promised me all the service "in his power; which he, as a gentleman, should "not have done, when he did not resolve to per-"form it, as I now see plainly."

While they were here, Donald M'Leod espied two sail, which they took for French ships, but they proved to be English men of war; which, however, gave them no trouble. The prince, having rested some days, found himself in a most desperate situation, for he got intelligence that Captain Caroline Scott had landed at Kilbride, within less than two miles of him. This obliged him to part from his constant attendants, Sullivan, faithful Donald M'Leod, his guide Burke, and all the boat's crew; keeping only O'Niel. Two shirts was all their baggage.

When he parted with Donald M'Leod, there was an appointment to meet again at a certain place, by different ways. Donald went south about, and all the rest left the prince, except O'Neil; upon which he was obliged to sink the boat, and shift as well as he could for himself. The others, after parting with the prince, staid in the fields two nights, having only

the sails of the boat for a cover. On the third night, they went farther into the loch, and rested thereabouts for other two nights, until they got sight of some of the red coats, which forced them to the north side of the loch.

On the 5th of July, Donald M'Leod was taken prisoner, by Allan M'Donald of Knock, a lieutenant, at Slate, in the Isle of Sky; he at the same time took M'Donald of the family of Glenaladale, and Mr. Forrest, a Romish priest. They were carried from place to place, and at last to Applecrossbay, in the Isle of Sky, and there put on board the Furnace, Captain Ferguson. Donald M'Leod was immediately carried into the cabin to General Campbell, who examined him very circumstantially.

The general asked him, if he had been along with the young Pretender? "Yees," (said Donald,) "I "winna denee it."—Do you know, (said the general,) "what money was upon that gentleman's head? no "less than L.30,000 sterling, man! which would "have made you and your family happy for ever." —"And who then, mon?" replied Donald, "what "and thoff ee'd ha gotten it, I wauld not had en- "joied it for twa days; an coud ee? conscience, "mon, conscience would ha g·tten the better o' ma, "and that it wou'd: altoff ee'd ha gotten aa England "and Scotland for ma pains, I wou'd not allew a "hair of his heed to be toach'd, an ee cou'd heender "it, sance he threw his leefe upon ma, mon!" The general could n.t avoid admiring Donald's honour and generosity, and his contempt of gold when put in competition with his v rtue.

Donald was conveyed on board a ship to Tilbury Fort, and thence removed to London, and at last was discharged out of a messenger's hands, (where he had been a little time,) on the 10th of June, 1747, which, he said, he would ever after celebrate as the day of his deliverance.

Burke, after parting from the prince, went over North Strand, or North Uist, where he skulked in a

hill called Eval, for near seven weeks; twenty days of which he had not any meat, except dulse and lammocks, a kind of shell-fish.

About this time a paper had been read in all the kirks, strictly forbidding all persons to give a morsel of meat to any rebel, upon severe religious penalties. Thus the place appointed to preach the doctrine of Christ was prostituted to quite contrary purposes, viz. forbidding to feed the hungry, or clothe the naked, &c. "If these are now the kirk tenets, "their loyalty is much mended, and their religion "grown worse." After various distresses, occasioned chiefly by this order, he at last was obliged to hide himself in a cave in North Uist, where he was fed by a shoemaker and his wife in the night; and, after various troubles, is now safe in Edinburgh, by virtue of the general act of grace.

Donald M'Leod says, "That the prince never "slept above three or four hours at a time; and, in "the morning, calling for a chopin or a quart of wa-"ter, he drank it off, with a few drops out of a little "bottle; this he also put into every thing that he "drank."

Thus far, reader, this account was taken from the journals, and from the mouths of both Donald M'Leod and Edward Burke, in Scotland. The prince having only O'Neil with him, now retired to the mountains, where he lay that night, June the 18th. Next day he received the information, that General Campbell was at Bernary, an island about two miles long and one broad, lying between North Uist and the Harris, belonging to the M'Leods.

The prince had military forces now on both the land sides of him, and the sea on the other, without any kind of vessel to venture out with.

In this perplexity, O'Neil thought proper to apply to a young lady, called Flora M'Donald, who was at her brother's, at Melton, in South Uist, upon a visit from the Isle of Sky: here O'Neil, having some little

rest of the company sat by chance, ate very heartily, and he smoked a pipe with them.

Next morning they heard of General Campbell's arrival at Benbicula; and, soon after, a servant came in great hurry to Lady Clanronald, and acquainted her, "That Captain Ferguson, with an advanced "party of Campbell's men, was at her house; and "that the captain lay in her bed last night."

This obliged her to return immediately; so, after taking leave of the prince, she set forward to her own house, where Ferguson examined her very strictly. "Where have you been, Madam?" said he. She answered, "To see a child that had been sick," "and is now better again." The captain asked "many more questions, such as, "Where this child "was? how far it was off from thence?" &c.*

Lady Clanronald and the other M'Donald being gone, Miss Flora bid the prince prepare, for it was time to go; on which O'Neil begged hard to go with them, but Miss Flora would on no account consent, because there would be too many of them together, and they might, therefore, be the more taken notice of; so the prince and he took leave of each other in an affectionate manner.

The company being gone, Miss Flora desired the prince to put on his new attire, which, being soon

* Lady Clanronald was taken prisoner soon after, and put on board a man of war; her husband was taken and put on board another, and conveyed to the Thames, and there lay some time. They were again carried up to London, and detained there, in custody of a messenger; the first at Mr. Money's, and the latter, on the first of November, at Mr. William Dick's, along with his brother of Boisdale, Captain Malcolm M'Leod, and Roger M'Neal of Barra, Esq. In June following, he and his lady were dismissed. At the same time Mr. Dick brought in custody, from on board a ship, John Gordon, Esq. eldest son of the famous Glenbucket, who was most judiciously accused of reviewing his father's troops; although, by the help of Dr. T—r, he had been quite blind for six years before; he also was discharged in June following.

done, they, with their crew, removed their quarters near the water-side, where the boat was a-float, to be ready, in case of any sudden attack from the shore.

They arrived in a very wet condition, and made a fire upon a piece of a rock, to keep themselves warm until night. They had not been long there, when they were alarmed by four wherries, full of armed men, approaching towards the shore. At this sight, they extinguished their fire, and conceal ed themselves in the heather or ling; but their fears soon vanished, for the wherries sailed quietly by, to the southward, within gun-shot of them.

On the 28th of June, about eight o'clock in the evening, they set out in very clear weather, but had not gone above a league, before the sea became very rough and tempestuous. The prince, finding Miss and the sailors beginning to be uneasy at their situation, sung them several Highland songs; among others, an old song made for the 29th of May. By this, and some merry stories, he contrived to keep up their spirits.

Next morning, though it was clear and calm, the boatmen knew not where they were, the wind having varied several times in the night; however, they made a point of Waternish, in the west corner of Sky, where they tried to land, but found the place possessed by a body of forces, who had also three boats or yawls, near the shore, and several men of war were in sight. A man, on board of one of these boats, fired at the prince and crew, to make them bring to. They rowed off; but would have been taken, had it not been providentially very calm, the ships at some distance, and the militia on shore not being able to stir for want of their oars, which were hauled up and flung in the line by the crew, who were scampering up and down; but, however, they sent up to alarm the people in a small town not far off. In consequence of the night storm, Miss Flora was so fatigued, that she fell asleep on the bottom of the boat. The prince observing it, covered her, to

gave her as much as he could from the cold; and sat by her lest any thing should hurt her, or lest any of the boatmen, in the dark, should step upon her; but the sea being rough, she could not sleep long.

They got safe into a creek or cliff in a rock, and there remained to rest the men, who had been all night at work, and also to get some refreshment; however, as soon as they could, they set forward again, lest the alarm given to the village should bring down the people upon them, which would have been the case had they staid, for they had not gone far before they observed the people approaching to the place they had so lately quitted.

From this place they went and landed at Kilbride, in Troternish, in the Isle of Sky, about twelve miles north from the above-mentioned point. In this neighbourhood there were also several militia in search of the prince, whose commanding-officer was at Sir Alexander M'Donald's, the very house Miss Flora was going to; but she did not know the officer was there until she saw him.

At the boat Miss M'Donald left the prince, and went with her man to Mogstod or Mungestod, the seat of Sir Alexander M'Donald; but he was not at home, being then with the Duke of Cumberland. She sent into the room to Lady Margaret, (Sir Alexander's lady), to let her know she was come, having before apprized my lady of her errand, by a lady who went a little before her for that purpose.

She was soon introduced into the room where the company were, amongst whom was the commanding-officer of the forces in that neighbourhood, who, after some time, asked her "whence she came? "which route she was going? and what news she "heard?" &c. all which she answered as she thought proper, and very readily, so that he had not the least suspicion, at that time, of what she was about, especially as he saw, when she went away, that she had only one servant with her, who he was certain could not be the prince.

Miss Flora having told Lady Margaret where she had left the prince, and the situation he was in, my lady was at a loss what to do; but as Mr. M'Donald of Kingsborough, Sir Alexander's steward or factor, was in the house, she applied to him, and desired he would conduct the prince to Kingsborough; which he readily complied with, and sent a boy down to the boat, with instructions to show the prince to a place about a mile distant from the boat, whither he himself would go, and be there ready to attend him. The boy went off directly, and Kingsborough taking some wine and other refreshments for the prince, soon after set out for the place of rendezvous, leaving Miss Flora with Lady Margaret.

When Miss Flora thought the prince and Kingsborough might be got to some distance, she then made a motion to go, and ordered out her horses directly; but Lady Margaret pressed her strongly, before the officer, to stay, telling her, at the same time, "that she (Miss Flora) had promised to stay the next "time she came, when last there." But she begged her ladyship to excuse her this one time, because, says she, "I have been some time away, and my "mother is not very well, and entirely alone in these "troublous times." At last she excused her; but only upon renewing her former promise to make amends the next time she went thither, which was very willingly complied with.

Every thing being ready, Miss Flora and her man, Mrs. M'Donald afore mentioned, and her man and maid, all set forward. They had not gone far before they overtook the prince and Kingsborough. Mrs. M'Donald was very desirous of seeing the prince's face, which he as carefully avoided, by turning it to the opposite side; but, however, she had several opportunities of seeing it, though much disguised.

Mrs. M'Donald's maid could not keep her eyes off the prince, and said to Miss Flora, "ma think ay "neer saw such an impudent looken woman, or a "mon in woman's claathes." Miss Flora replied,

"she was an Irishwoman, for she knew her, and had "seen her before." "Bless me, (quoth the maid), "what long straides the jaide takes, and how awk- "wardly she warks her petticoats, &c. I believe "those Eiriah women could faight as well as the "men."

Miss Flora not liking the maid's observations, and knowing they were near the place where the prince and Kingsborough were to turn out of the common road, and that it was not proper to let Mrs. M'Donald's man and maid-servant see which route they and Kingsborough took, she called out to Mrs. M'Donald to ride faster, for, says she, we shall be late out: this was complied with, and they soon lost sight of the two on foot, who turned out of the common road to avoid the militia, and went over the hills S. S. E. till they arrived at Kingsborough-house, which was about eleven o'clock at night, on Sunday, June the 29th, in a very wet condition, having had much rain, and walking seven long miles. Miss Flora arrived about the same time along the highway, having parted with Mrs. M'Donald, and her man and maid-servant.

O'Neil, after parting from the prince and Miss Flora, went and met Sullivan, who was yet upon the island. About two days after the prince and O'Neil had parted, a French cutter, having 120 men on board, went to the Isle of South Uist, intending to carry off the prince, who, they were informed, was there. Sullivan went immediately on board, while O'Neil went back for the prince, hoping to overtake him before he and Miss Flora should leave the island; but O'Neil finding the prince had left the island two days before, returned to the place where he had left the cutter; but, unhappily for him, the vessel was gone about three hours before, for the timorous Sullivan, having a fair wind, had not courage to stay for the prince and O'Neil, but set sail directly, to save one precious life, and left the prince and O'Neil to their good master, Provi-

dence. There were two small wherries just within sight, which might, indeed, in some measure, excuse the hen-hearted Sullivan, both the wherries being filled with armed men, and were sent out by an English officer after this cutter, but could not get to her.

O'Neil was soon after taken prisoner, but being a foreign officer, was only a prisoner of war; he was put on board a man of war, where, in a little time after, he saw Miss Flora a prisoner also, for doing what he had been the instrument of bringing about. He was afterwards conveyed to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and, after some time, sent home, according to the cartel.

But, to return to Ascanius, he soon got to Kingsborough's house. Mrs. M'Donald, not expecting her husband home at that time of the night, was undrest and just going to bed, when one of her maid-servants went up and told her, "That Kingsborough was re-"turned, and had brought some company, with "Melton's daughter, I believe," said the maid, "and "some company with her." "Melton's daughter is "very welcome here, with any company she pleases "to bring; make my compliments to her, and tell "her to be free with any thing in the house; but I "am sleepy and undrest, and cannot see her to-"night."

In a short time Kingsborough's daughter went up, in as great hurry as surprise, crying out, "Mamma, "mamma, my father has brought heether a very "odd, muckle, ill shapen up waife as eever I saa; "nay, and has taaken her unto the hall too."

She had scarce said this, before Kingsborough himself came into the room, and desired his wife to dress again, as fast as she could, and get such meat as they had ready for supper.—"Who have you "with you? says she." "You shall know that in "good time, only make haste." She then desired her daughter to go and fetch the keys, which she had left in the hall. The girl went and soon came back again in a great hurry, and said, "Mamma, mamma, "I canna gang een for the kayes; because the

" muckle woman is walken up and down the hall, " and I am afraid of her." Mrs. M'Donald then went herself, but was so frightened, as she said, " at " seeing such a muckle trollop of a carling make " sike lang streeds through the hall, that she did not " like her appearance:" but then she desired her husband to fetch them; but he would not; so she was obliged to go herself.

When she went into the room Ascanius was sitting, but he got up immediately, and saluted her. She then began to tremble, having found a rough beard, imagining it was some distressed nobleman or gentleman in disguise, but never dreamed who it was. She therefore went directly out of the room, with the keys in her hand, to her husband, without saying one word, and greatly importuned Kingsborough to tell her who it was; and if he could tell any thing of what was become of the prince. Kingsborough smiled, and told her, "My dear, it is the prince."—" The " prince!" cried she, "then we are a' ruined, we will " a' be hanged now." "Hute, (cried he,) we will die " but once, and if we are hanged for this, we die in " a good cause, doing only an act of humanity and " charity: but go make haste with supper, bring us " eggs, butter, cheese, and whatever else is ready." " Eggs, butter, and cheese," quoth she, "what a " supper is that for a prince." "Oh wife!" replied he, "you little know how he has lived of late; this " will be a feast to him: besides, to make a formal " supper would make the servants suspect some- " thing; the less ceremony, therefore, the better; " make haste and come to supper yourself." "I " come to supper," said she; "I know not how to " behave before majesty."—" You must come," replied Kingsborough, "for the prince will not eat " one bit without you; and you'll find it no difficult " matter to behave before him, so obliging and easy " is he in conversation."

I hope the reader will excuse me, for giving this dialogue in their own words, not being able to give a

better idea of the figure the prince must have made, and of the distress he was in, than in their own way of expression.

At supper, the prince placed Miss Flora at his right hand, always paying her the greatest respect wherever she was, and always rising up whenever she entered the room, and Mrs. M'Donald at his left. He made a plentiful supper, eating four eggs, some collops, bread, and butter; he drank two bottles of beer at supper, and then calling for a bumper of brandy, he drank "Health and prosperity to his "landlord and landlady, and better times to us all;" and after supper, smoked a pipe. He smoked for society, and kept the same pipe till it was as black as ink, and worn or broken to the very stump. After drinking a few glasses of wine, and finishing their pipes, the prince went to bed.

When the prince and Kingsborough were going from Mongstod to Kingsborough, the prince said, he purposed going to the laird of M'Leod's, as being a place the government people would not suspect. But Kingsborough would not agree to that, and gave some of his reasons to support his opinion. "What," says the prince, "do you think that M'Leod, to his "former doings, would add that of thirsting after "my blood?"—"I am not certain of that," replied Kingsborough, "but I have received a letter from "the laird of M'Leod, wherein he desires me to de-"liver you up, if you should fall into my way; and "says, I should thereby do a service to my country." The prince thereupon dropt that project, and said, "I hope M'Leod will live to see his mistake." Some time after this, the laird of M'Leod asked for the letter again; but Kingsborough absolutely refused to give it to him, and farther said, "he would keep that "to show what part M'Leod acted."

Kingsborough, amongst other things, asked the prince, "If he looked upon George Murray to have "acted a treacherous part?" he said, "he hoped "not."

Kingsborough also said to him, he could not remember or conceive what it was that brought him that day to Mongstod (Sir Alexander's house), for he had no manner of business there, nor owed any visit. "I will tell you," said the prince; "you could not "avoid going, for I have been the particular care of "Providence, and that sent you hither to save me, "there being no other person decreed to do it."

After the prince was gone to bed, Mrs. M'Donald desired Miss Flora to relate his adventures, as far as she knew of them, which she did; and when she had concluded her story, Mrs. M'Donald asked her, "What was become of the boatmen who brought "them to that island?" She replied, "they went "back again directly for South Uist."—"That was "wrong," said Mrs. M'Donald, "for you should "have kept them on this side for some time, at least "till he had got farther from his pursuers."

As Mrs. M'Donald conjectured, so it proved, for the boatmen were immediately seized on their return; and, being threatened with torture or death, both which are absolutely against our law, but is frequently the case when people are ruled by those they pay, by these threats of torture, I say, the men revealed all they knew, and gave a description of the gown, with purple sprigs thickly stamped, and a white apron. This thought of her's determined Miss Flora to desire him to change his dress; which he agreed to, not being willing to march any farther in that dress, having found it so troublesome the day before.

This great feast which the prince had got, being the most material refreshment he had met with for a long time, agreed so well with him, that he slept nine or ten hours without interruption, whereas, in general, he seldom took above three or four to rest.

As morning advanced, Miss Flora began to be afraid lest, by lying too long, he should give his enemies time to overtake him; she therefore desired Kingsborough to go into his room, and call him up. He, after much persuasion, went, but, finding him

in so sound a sleep, would not awaken him, and retired quietly out of the room again; but every thing being soon after ready for his journey, Miss Flora insisted that Kingsborough should again call him up, with which he complied; and having awakened the prince, asked him how he had rested? the prince answered, "Never better, for I thought I never lay "on so good a bed; and, to tell the truth, I had al-"most forgot what a bed was."

Although the prince was to change his dress, it was thought necessary to leave the house in the same habit he arrived, that, in case of a pursuit, it would prevent any one from describing the dress he travelled in. When he was dressed, they came into his chamber, and put on his apron and cap. Before Miss Flora put on the cap, Mrs. M'Donald desired her, in Erse,* to ask for a lock of his hair, which she refused to do, saying, "Cannot you ask him "yourself?" He, finding they were disputing about something, desired to know it, and when Mrs. M'Donald told him her request, he immediately granted it; and laying his head on Miss Flora's lap, bade her cut a lock off, which she did, giving Mrs. M'Donald one half, and keeping the other herself.

The prince being dressed, cried, "A lusty wench "this is." He then got his breakfast, and taking leave of his landlady, he and Kingsborough, with a bundle of Highland clothes under his arm, went to a wood not far from Kingsborough-house, and there he changed his dress. This being done, he took Kingsborough in his arms, bade him a long adieu, and in a most affectionate manner thanked him for his services, and assured him he would never forget them; saying, "Who knows, Kingsborough, but "you and I may drink a pot of porter together after "all this." Then they both wept, and a few drops of blood fell from the prince's nose. Kingsborough sent a guide with him to Portree, or Partree, that is

* The language of the island.

in Erse, Portree, Kingsport, through all the bye-ways, while Miss Flora went on horseback by another road, thereby the better to gain intelligence, and to prevent a discovery. This place is seven long miles from Kingsborough's house. The gown the prince had on was a linen and cotton one, having a white ground, with purple-coloured flowers.

Kingsborough had sent before, to procure a boat and every thing else necessary towards the prince's escape. The prince being arrived safe here, again met his female guide: this was the last time they saw each other. Miss Flora and he were both very wet, and staid no longer there than to dry their clothes, and to get what little refreshment the place afforded, which took up about two hours' time. Here the prince took leave of Miss Flora, returning her his sincere thanks for her kind assistance, and greatly lamented, that he had not a M'Donald to go on to the end, saying, "Well, Miss Flora, I hope "we yet shall be in a good coach and six before we "die, though we be now on foot."

According to my plan hitherto, I shall give the remaining history of Kingsborough and Miss Flora, before I go any further with the prince.

About six or eight days after the prince left Sky, Captain Ferguson followed him hard foot. From the boatmen, who were taken at their return to South Uist, he got an exact description of the gown and dress the prince had on, pursued him to Sir Alexander M'Donald's house, and there searched very strictly: hearing only of Miss Flora, he went to Kingsborough, and examined him, and his wife, and daughter.

The captain first found Kingsborough, and asked several questions, some of which he answered, and others he either would or could not, but told the captain he had better ask his wife, who could give proper answers. Kingsborough, calling her, said, "That Captain Ferguson was come to ask some "questions about her late guests." "If Ferguson

" (says she) is to be my judge, then God have mercy " on my soul." Ferguson asked her, " Why she " said so?" She replied, " Because the whole world " say you are a very cruel, hard-hearted man, and " indeed I don't like to go through such hands." Ferguson then asked Kingsborough, " Where Miss " Flora and the person in woman's clothes who was " with her lay?" Kingsborough answered, " He " knew where Miss Flora lay; but, as for servants, " he never asked any questions about them."

The captain then asked Mrs. M'Donald, " Whe- " ther she laid the young Pretender and Miss Flora " in the same bed?" She answered, " Sir, whom " you mean by the young Pretender I do not pre- " tend to guess; but I can assure you, it is not the " fashion in Sky to lay the mistress and maid in " the same bed together." The captain then desired to see the rooms where they lay; which being shown, he remarked, that the room wherein the supposed maid-servant lay was better than that wherein the mistress lay.

Kingsborough was taken prisoner, and carried to Fort-Augustus, where he was plundered of his shoebuckles, garters, watch, and money; and, in a few hours after, thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. While he was prisoner, one of the captains of the English forces went to him, and asked, " If he would know the prince's head if he saw it?" Kingsborough, trembling at the thought of his being murdered, said, " He could not engage for that, " unless it was joined to the body."

Kingsborough was removed from thence to the Castle of Edinburgh, under a strong guard of Kingston's light-horse, who entered that city with trumpets and kettle-drums, a thing not very common in such a case. He was at first put into the same room with Major M'Donald, Mr. George Moer, laird of Leckie, Mr. Thomas Ogilvie, and others; but was soon after removed into a room by himself, under a very close confinement. None were permitted to

see him, except the officer upon guard, the serjeant, and keeper, which last was appointed to attend him as servant. He was kept until the act of grace, and then was discharged on the 4th of July 1747, having been confined a year for that one night's lodging.

Kingsborough was once discharged whilst at Fort-Augustus, by mistaking him for another of the same name; but Lord Albemarle, finding out the mistake, soon sent a party after him, who found him at Sir Alexander M'Donald's, just going to bed. By this means he had an opportunity of hearing from Sir Alexander's own mouth, what a rage a certain great officer was in when he found Kingsborough a prisoner at Fort-Augustus; throwing out horrid and shocking oaths and imprecations for not securing the prince, and swore "he would have him hanged at "any rate."

Miss Flora, having taken leave of the prince, left Portree immediately, and went to her mother at Slait; crossed the country, and had a very fatiguing journey: but she neither told her mother nor any other person what she had been about.

One M'Leod of Taliskar, an officer in one of the independent companies, desired one of the M'Donalds, who lived four miles from Slait, to send for Miss Flora, in order to examine her about what had happened. Accordingly, about eight or nine days after she got home, a message came from this person, to go to his house as soon as she could.

Miss Flora, being not a little suspicious of the design, thought proper to communicate to her friends what she had done, and consult them as to what she should do; upon which they advised her not to go, however, till next day; which she did accordingly.

She had not gone far on the road, before she met her step-father returning home to whom she told every thing that had happened, from her leaving him in her way to Clanronald's house to that time; what she was then about, and what she intended to say upon examination.

She had not gone far, after parting from her step-father, when she was taken prisoner by an officer and a party of soldiers, who were going to her mother's in search of her. They carried her immediately on board a ship, without suffering her either to go for her clothes and linen, or take leave of her friends.

The vessel she was carried on board of was the Furnace, Captain Ferguson, which put her under terrible apprehensions, on account of that captain's great repute for inhumanity and cruelty, which was spread throughout the whole country; but, luckily for her, General Campbell was on board, who gave strict orders to treat her with the utmost civility and respect; that she should have a maid-servant, and one of the lieutenants' cabins to themselves, forbidding any person to go into it, without her leave or consent. This generosity I have heard Miss Flora often acknowledge.

About three weeks after she was a prisoner, the ship being near her mother's, General Campbell permitted her to go on shore to take leave of her friends, but in custody of two officers and a party of soldiers. However, she was not to speak any Erse, nor any thing except what the officers heard; so she staid about two hours, and then returned again to the ship.

When she was taken prisoner, she, upon her examination, told that she had seen a great lusty woman, who came to the water-side as she was going into the boat, who told her she was a soldier's wife, and was left on the island without friends, meat, or money, and asked a place in the boat that she might get to the continent of Scotland, to her husband: that she granted the request; and, when they landed in Sky, she went directly to Sir Alexander M'Donald's, and the lusty woman went her own way, thanking her for the favour. This story Miss Flora told; but when she got to General Campbell she was more candid, and acknowledged the whole truth to him.

Miss Flora was removed on board Commodore

Smith's ship, where she was exceedingly well treated, for he was very polite to her; for which, at his request, while she was in London, she consented to sit for her picture. The ship was some time in Leith Roads, and she, after being conveyed from place to place, was at last, on November 27th, 1746, put on board the Royal Sovereign, lying at the Nore; whence, on the 6th of December following, she was removed to London, in custody of William Dick, a messenger, having been five months on ship-board. In this messenger's custody, she remained until July 1747, when she was discharged, and returned to Edinburgh.

This relation is taken from the remainder of O'Neil's journal, and from the mouth of Kingsborough, his lady, and Miss Flora.

Having concluded the history of Kingsborough and Miss M'Donald, I shall now return to the prince.

Kingsborough having sent to the laird of Raasa for his assistance, Captain Malcolm M'Leod, an officer under the prince at the battle of Falkirk and Culloden, and Murdoch M'Leod, third son of Raasa, who was wounded in the shoulder at Culloden, by a musket-shot, met the prince at Portree, in the Isle of Sky, where Miss Flora left him.

They staid but a little time after their arrival, and then they attended the prince to a small boat, wherein John M'Leod, the young laird of Raasa, waited very impatient to get a sight of the prince. They set out immediately, there being in the boat, the prince, Captain Malcolm M'Leod, his guide; the young laird of Raasa; his brother, Murdoch; and the two boatmen, viz. John M'Kenzie and Donald M'Frier, who had both been out in the prince's service, the one a serjeant, the other a private man. Early in the morning, on July 1st, they arrived safe at Glain, in Raasa, being six miles.* They staid there two days and a half, in a mean low hut.

* All the miles mentioned in this work are Scots miles.

Young Raaza brought a lamb and a kid in the corner of his plaid. They were obliged to lie on the bare ground, having only a little heath or ling for a pillow.

A man came into this island to sell a roll of tobacco; but, after he had sold the tobacco, he continued strolling up and down the island, in an idle way, for twelve or fourteen days, without having any apparent business, which made the people of the island suspect he was a spy.

When the prince and Malcolm were in the hut, the captain saw this very man approaching towards them; on which Malcolm determined to shoot him. "No, Malcolm, (said the prince, taking hold of "him) God forbid that any innocent man should "suffer by us; if we cannot keep ourselves safe, let "us not take that from any person which we cannot "restore to him again; let us not dread more than "we need; and, pray, let not fear make us do mis-"chief:" and he would not allow the captain to stir. Malcolm had the more reason to suspect this man to be a spy, because this hut was not near any road; but, however, luckily for the poor man, he passed by without offering once to look into it, which if he had attempted, Malcolm determined to have shot him, for their own preservation.

On July the 3d, the prince proposed going to Troternish in Sky, although it blew very hard, and having only the small boat above mentioned. They accordingly set forward about seven o'clock in the evening, the same company attending him.

They had not gone far before the wind blew harder, and the crew begged to return; but the prince encouraged them saying, "*Cæsarem vehis:* "Providence, my boys! that carried me through so "many dangers, will no doubt preserve me for a "nobler end than this;" and then sang them a merry Highland song. The waves washed very frequently into the boat, and Malcolm and the prince took their turns in laving the water out.

About eleven o'clock at night, they landed at a

place in the island of Sky, called Nicholson's Great Rock, near Scorebreck in Trotternish, about ten miles from Glam, in Raaza or Raarsa. Though it was a bad landing, the prince was the third man who jumped into the water, and helped to haul the boat to dry land.

The prince had on a riding-coat, which being wet through, and the rock they were going up being very steep, Malcolm desired the prince to let him carry it; but he would by no means consent, saying, "I "am younger than you, captain." They travelled on to a byre or cow-house, belonging to one Nicholson, about two miles from Scorebreck.

Here the prince and company took up their quarters; and Malcolm would have had the prince to put on a dry shirt, and take some sleep. He would not change his shirt, and sleep at last seized him as he sat. He often started in his sleep, and, sighing deeply, said, "Ah, poor people! poor people!"

The prince after some little time awaked, and finding Malcolm upon the watch, earnestly desired him to take some rest, but at that time he would not. The prince renewing his intreaty again, the captain thought he wanted to say something to the rest of the company in private, and went out for a little time.

The two brothers, young Raaza and Murdoch, and the boatmen, left the prince here, and returned; the prince promising to meet the younger at Camistinawag, another place in the same island.

The prince and Malcolm staid here twenty hours, without any kind of refreshment, not even so much as a fire to dry their clothes at.

On the 4th, about seven o'clock in the evening, they left the byre, the captain passing for the master, and the prince for the man, who always carried the little baggage whenever they saw any person, or came near any village; and then, whenever he spoke to the captain or the captain to him, he always pulled off his bonnet.

They marched all night through the worst ways

in Europe, going over hills, wild moors, and glens, without halting, till they arrived at Ellagol, or rather Ellighill, near to Kilmaree, or Kilvory, in Strath, and near to a place in some maps called Ord, in the laird of M'Kinnen's country, not far from where that laird lived, having walked twenty-four miles.

During their journey, the brandy bottle was near out, having only one dram left, which the prince would force Malcolm to drink, declaring, "he wanted none himself." This Malcolm complied with, and afterwards hid the bottle.

On the road the prince said, "Suppose, Malcolm, we two should meet anybody who would attempt to kill or take us, what shall we do?" "That depends upon their numbers," replied Malcolm; "if there be no more than four of them, I will engage to manage two." "Then let me go if I do not manage the other two," returned he. Then observing to Malcolm, that his waistcoat was rather too good for a servant, being a scarlet tartan, with a gold-twist button, proposed to change with him, which was accordingly done.

As they were approaching near Strath, the captain suggested to him, "that he was now coming to a country where he would be known, and might be discovered in any corner of it, as M'Kinnen's men had been out in his service, and therefore he must be more disguised;" to do which Ascanius tied on a napkin under his bonnet, putting his wig into his pocket; "but nothing," said Malcolm, "could disguise his majestic mien and deportment."

They no sooner arrived in Strath than they met two of M'Kinnen's men, who had been out in the expedition: they stared at the prince, soon knew him, and burst into tears on seeing him in such distress. The captain hushed them, and bid them be composed, for otherwise they would discover all by their concern; which they complied with as well as they could; and then, Malcolm injoining them to secrecy, dismissed them. They proved faithful.

Being come near the place resolved upon, Malcolm told Ascanius that he had a sister married to one John M'Kinnen, a captain in his army; and he advised him to sit down at a little distance from the house, while he went to learn if any of their enemies were in that neighbourhood in quest of him, and likewise to know whether they could be safe there with her: Ascanius was still to pass as his servant, Lewis Caw.

Malcolm found his sister at home, but not her husband. After usual compliments at meeting, he told her, "That he was come to stay some little time "there, provided there was no party of the military "people about them, and that he could be safe:" she said he might. Then he told her, "He had no "person along with him, except one Lewis Caw, a "son of Mr. Caw, surgeon in Crieff, who had been "out in the last affair, consequently, in the same "situation with himself; and that he was to pass as "his servant." She very readily agreed to take him, and Lewis was called into the house.

When Lewis entered the house, with the baggage on his back, and the napkin on his head, he took off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat at a distance from his master; but the captain's sister could not help looking at him, observing something very uncommon about him.

The captain desired his sister to give them some provisions, for he was almost famished with hunger. The meat was soon set down, and the captain called to poor sick Lewis to draw near and eat with him, as there was no company in the house. Lewis seemed very backward, alleging, "He knew better man-"ners;" but his master ordering him again, he obeyed, and drew nearer, but still kept off his bonnet.

After getting some refreshment, the captain desired the maid-servant to wash his feet; which, being done, he desired her to wash his man's: but she replied, that "Though she had washed his, she would

"not wash that loon his servant's." But the captain told her "His servant was not well, and therefore he "would have her to do it." She then complied, but rubbed his feet so hard, that she hurt him very much; on which the prince spoke to the captain in English, bidding her not rub so hard, nor go so far up with her hand, he having only a philibeg on. After this refreshment they both went to sleep; during which time the captain's sister went to the top of a hill to keep watch, lest they should be surprised.

The prince did not sleep above two hours: the captain, being weary, slept much longer; but when he awaked he saw Ascanius dandling a child and singing to it, seeming as alert as if he had been in bed all night. "Who knows," said he, "but this "boy may hereafter be a captain in my service?" "Or you, rather," said the maid, "an old serjeant "in his company."

The captain being now awake, and hearing his brother-in-law was coming, went out to meet him. After usual ceremonies, Malcolm asked him, "if "he saw those ships of war that were at a distance "hovering about the coast?" "Yes," said M'Kinnen. "What (said Malcolm) if the prince be on "board one of them?" "God forbid!" replied M'Kinnen. "What (said Malcolm) if he was here; "John, do you think he would be safe enough?" "I wish we had him here," replied he, "for he "would be safe enough; for nothing would hurt "him here." "Well, then," replied Malcolm, "he is now in your house; but, when you go in, "you must not take any notice of him, lest the "servants or others observe you; for he passes for "one Lewis Caw, my servant." John promised very fair, but no sooner saw the prince in that condition, than he burst into a flood of tears; which Malcolm observing, obliged John to retire immediately.

When Ascanius and Malcolm were alone, the cap-

tain desired he would tell him the perils he had already escaped; which, when told, Malcolm seemed amazed; and the prince said, "Captain, I could "give my own person for life more ease, by staying where I was; but I could give others more "ease by being a king. I pity a good king, for, if "he does his duty, he must be the greatest slave in "his dominions, as he can't say that an hour of his "time is justly his own. This is nothing to what I "am destined to undergo; but Providence will "guard me through the whole, as it has hitherto "done. What I have undergone is a lesson I wish "every prince underwent before he came to govern; for he would then know what misery and "distress were, which would give him a true light "of the situation of his subjects, and be a mean to "make him anxious and frugal, and not wantonly "to throw away their wealth, if he means to make "them and himself happy."

After much of this sort of conversation, they began to consult how he was to get to the continent of Scotland, and both agreed not to let the laird of M'Kinnen know of their being there, on account of his being so old. They then called in John M'Kinnen, and desired him to go and hire a boat, as if for Malcolm only; and made John promise not to communicate any thing of what he had heard or seen about them to the laird, if he and John should chance to meet.

John, after getting his instructions, set forward; but meeting with his old chieftain, he could not refrain letting him into the secret. The good old man, getting this intelligence, ordered John to give himself no trouble about the boat, for that he would provide a good one, and would soon be with the prince.

John returned, and told the prince what had happened, and that the laird would soon be with him. Malcolm said to the prince, "As the case now "stands, it will be best to leave all the manage-

"ment to the old gentleman, who will be firm to "his trust." Ascanius, notwithstanding this, was uneasy at the thought of parting with his faithful captain. But Malcolm represented to him, that as he had been some time absent, the military people would pursue him upon suspicion, which might be the cause of Ascanius being taken; "But if I re-"turn, and should be taken prisoner, (said Mal-"colm,) which may be very likely the case, it will "enable me to prevent so quick a pursuit after "you; because, as I am alone, I can tell my own "tale without being confronted, and can send them "upon a wrong scent. For myself (continued Mal-"colm) I care not, but for you I am much afraid; "and as I can do you more service by quitting than "staying with you, I desire you will follow the laird "of M'Kinnen's directions." To this he at last consented, and just then the old gentleman came to them, and told them he had got the boat ready; upon which they set out for it directly, accompanied by John M'Kinnen, who even went with his laird to the continent of Scotland, and saw the prince safely landed there.

As they were on their way towards the boat, they espied two ships of war coming towards them, in full sail before the wind: thereupon they intreated the prince not to attempt to go on board at that time, but to wait till the vessels had steered another course; "for just now," said Malcolm, "the wind is fair for "them and against you." "Never fear," replied the prince, "I have not had so few escapes, to be "sillily catched here. I'll go on board, and the "wind will change, and those very ships shall steer "another course. Providence shows me that I am "in his care, and it therefore cannot be in the power "of my enemies to come near me at this juncture."

By this time, it being about eight o'clock at night, they got to the sea-side, and Ascanius, about to step into the boat, turned suddenly to Malcolm, saying, "Don't you remember I promised to meet Murdoch

" Macleod at such a place?" naming it. " No mat-
" ter," said the captain, " I'll make an apology; for
" as necessity drives you another road, he'll excuse
" you." " That's not enough between gentlemen," replied Ascanius: " have you pen, ink, and paper
" about you, Malcolm? I'll write him a line or two;
" I am obliged in good manners to do this." Accordingly he wrote the following words:—

Sir—I thank God I am in good health, and have got off as designed. Remember me to all friends, and thank them for the trouble they have been at. I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

JAMES THOMSON.

The prince then gave the letter to the captain, and desired him to deliver it, though open, for he had neither wax nor wafer. The prince then said, " Malcolm, let us smoke one pipe together before
" we part." Accordingly the captain fired a piece of tow with his gun for this purpose.

At parting, Ascanius presented Malcolm with a silver stock-buckle, embraced and saluted him twice, thanking him for what he had done, and put ten guineas into his hand, which the captain refusing, the prince forced them upon him. Here Ascanius having got a better pipe, had no farther occasion for the short one (called a cutty,) which was black with use: this Malcolm took, and some time after sent it to a friend in England.

Malcolm having departed, Ascanius, the old laird of M'Kinnen, John M'Kinnen, Malcolm's brother-in-law, and the boatmen, all went on board in the evening of the 5th of July.

What the prince had said to Malcolm about the wind soon changing fair, and being spoken with such confidence, made so great an impression upon Malcolm, that he was determined to sit down upon a hill and see the event. He waited, and declared " That
" they had not rowed half a mile, and that towards
" the ships of war too, when the wind chopped about,
" and not only blew fair for Ascanius, but blew so

"brisk a gale, that it soon drove the vessels out of "sight." The truth of this, both Captain Malcolm and those in the boat attested upon oath.

As the captain had seen Ascanius both in prosperity and in the greatest adversity, a certain worthy clergyman asking him his opinion of that young gentleman, his answer was, "That the prince was the most "cautious man in the world, not to be a coward; "and the bravest, not to be rash."

I must observe here, that it is no difficult matter, in many cases, to foretel a speedy change of the wind, for almost any sailor can do that; but what was most providential for him was, that it should be about to change at the very identical time he was obliged to go on board, and when he required such a change.

Captain Malcolm returned home again, but was not many days there before he was taken prisoner, and after being detained on board a ship, was conveyed to the Thames, and, on the 1st of November 1746, was removed to London, and there kept in the hands of Mr. William Dick, a messenger, till July 1747, and then discharged. He had cleared himself of taking up arms in behalf of Ascanius, by surrendering with his men, according to the Duke of Cumberland's proclamation. He and Miss M'Donald returned to Scotland together. All this account was literally taken from Captain Malcolm M'Leod himself.

The prince left the island, for the continent of Scotland, the 5th of July, under the care of the old laird of M'Kinnen. The night proved tempestuous, and the coast was very dangerous. They met a boat, in which were some armed militia, with whom they spoke, and as the militia did not exceed their own number, the prince and crew resolved to make all the head they could, and prepared to fight, in case they had been attacked. But in spite of all these dangers, they landed safe at Moidart, about thirty miles from the place they set out from; and went

again to Angus M'Donald's house, at Boradale, who he changed his dress, and sent for M'Donald of Glenaladale, of Clanronald's family.

Many of those who read this account will scarce think it possible that the prince could have escaped being drowned in so many storms, when in the open seas in such small vessels, some of which scarcely holding six people.

After having landed the prince, the laird of M'Kinnen took his leave, and set forward in the same boat on his return home. He was taken prisoner in Murar, in his passage back, and was conveyed to the Thames by sea, and there, partly on board and partly at Tilbury fort, he was kept a close prisoner, until he was removed to the new jail in Southwark, where he was put into irons, and in 1747 was removed into the hands of the messenger.

Glenaladale, as I observed before, being sent for came and informed the prince about Lochiel, Keppoch, and others; and that the loss at Culloden, and after the battle, was not near so great as Sullivan and O'Neil had reported.

The prince then proposed to go to Lochaber, where he thought his beloved Lochiel was; but as all the passes were closely guarded, it was deemed at that time impracticable; for one line was formed from Inverness to Fort-Augustus, and from thence to Fort William, to prevent either the prince or any other of his party from escaping; and another line was formed from the head of Locharkaig, to prevent any from passing in or out of Lochaber.

The prince continued some days in that country, about ten miles from Moidart, and staid until he heard of the arrival of General Campbell, with 400 men, on the one side of him, and Captain Caroline Scott, with 500 more, on the other: they, having received intelligence where Ascanius was, were forming a circle round, and were not two miles distant from him.

The prince receiving an account of this, was ad-

dised to go to the Braes of Glenmorriston, and to continue there, and in Lord Lovat's country, until the passes should be opened. In this situation, he sent for Mr. Donald Cameron of Glenpane, to guide them to the Braes of Locharkaig: he came, and in the night conducted the prince very safely through the guards who were in the pass, and went so close to their tents as to hear them speak, being obliged to creep upon their hands and knees. At the same time, there went with the prince, Glenaladale, his brother, and two young boys, sons of Angus M'Donald of Boradale.

After this, the prince continued his journey for Glenmorriston's country; and, as he was travelling one day, having only Glenaladale with him, the latter lost his purse, with forty guineas in it. He lamented this misfortune the more because it was all the money they had, the prince having none left. He proposed to go back and seek for it, "saying, he "was certain he could go the very same road, and "would find it:" this Ascanius opposed, till he, shewing how much it might be wanted, went back, desiring the prince to rest himself behind the hill adjoining, till he should return.

The gentleman being gone, and the prince at his post, meditating upon the goodness of Providence to himself hitherto, though often in the midst of the greatest dangers, when, at some distance, he espied a party of soldiers advancing; upon which he hid himself, but in such a manner as to see the soldiers, who went near by, and on the very rout where the prince and the other gentleman would have gone, had not the purse been lost, or had it not been their whole stock; and they both must have been taken or killed. Thus, what they were regretting as their greatest misfortune, was the means of their preservation. The prince watched the soldiers as far as he could see them. Soon after, his friend returned with the purse, to whom he told what he had seen; after which, they joined in thanksgiving. The prince said, "Glen-

" aladale, my hour, I see, is not come; for, I b
" lieve, I should not be taken though I had a mi
" to it."

They got to Glenmorriston very safely, but we almost famishing with hunger, when the prince saw little hut at a distance, and some smoke going ou at a hole in the roof. " Thither (says he) will I go " let the consequence be what it will; for I had bet " ter be killed like a man, than be starved like a " fool." He had been forty-eight hours without meat. His friend did all in his power to dissuade him from it, but he would go.

When they got to the hut, Ascanius went boldly in, without showing any manner of concern, and found six stout lusty fellows at dinner, upon a large piece of boiled beef, a sight he had been long a stranger to.

The six men, who were notorious thieves, and made that hut their abode, for privacy and safety, were not a little amazed at seeing a strange face entering there. One of them knew Ascanius, and also that he was skulking; but he, not thinking it safe to tell the rest of the company who their guest was, had the presence of mind, upon seeing the prince, to cry out, " Ha! Dougal M'Cullony, I am glad to see " thee!" The prince, by this expression, found he was known, and with equal steadiness of countenance, thanked him cheerfully, sat down with them, ate heartily, and was very merry.

Ascanius, his friend, and the man who knew him, walked out after dinner, and consulted what farther was to be done; and being informed of the state of the country about, and of the military people, found it absolutely necessary to wait there for some time, and that the other five men should be entrusted with the secret; which being done, they rejoiced that they had it in their power to serve the prince: they proved of great service, and were very faithful. With these trusty Falstaffs and Glenaladale did the prince continue, betwixt the Braes of Glenmorriston and Glen-

Strath-Ferrar, until the guards were removed and the passes opened.

About this time, one Roderick M'Kenzie, a merchant of Edinburgh, who had been out with the prince, was skulking among the hills about Glenmorriston, when some of the soldiers met with him. As he was about the prince's size and age, and not unlike him in the face, being a genteel man and well dressed, they took him for the prince. M'Kenzie tried to escape them, but could not, and being determined not to be taken and hanged, (which he knew, if taken, would be his fate), he bravely resolved to die sword in hand; and, in that death, to serve Ascanius more than he could do by living. The bravery and steadiness of M'Kenzie confirmed the soldiers in their belief that he was the prince, whereupon one of them shot him; who, as he fell, cried out to them, "You have killed your prince! you "have killed your prince!" and expired immediately. The soldiers, overjoyed with their supposed good fortune, in meeting with so great a prize, immediately cut off the brave young man's head, and made all the haste they could to Fort-Augustus, to tell the news of their great heroical fate, and to lay claim to the L.30,000, producing the head, which several said they knew to be the prince's head. This great news, with the head, was soon carried to the duke, who, believing the great work was done, set forward for London, from Fort-Augustus, on the 18th of July. It was about this head that Kingsborough was asked the question afore mentioned, by one of the captains of the English forces.

The soldiers and militia, sent out to take the prince and his adherents, now imagining that he was killed, and his head sent to London, began to be less strict, and not to keep so good a look out as before; by which means the prince escaped from place to place with less danger.

I observed before, that the prince continued betwixt the Braes of Glenmorriston and Glen-Strath-

Ferrar, till the guards were removed and the pass opened. About the beginning of August he went with his retinue to Lochaber, to Achnacarie, the seat of Lochiel.

Ascanius and company had brought no provisions with them, expecting to be supplied in that country, where there used to be greater plenty than where they had come from; but they were greatly disappointed, finding all the country plundered and burnt, and no cattle, or any kind of provisions to be got. In this distress they remained some time, when at last one of the Glenmorriston men espied a hart, and shot it; on which they lived without bread or salt.

The next day, Ascanius being informed that M'Donald of Locharkie, Cameron of Cluns, and Cameron of Lochnasual, were in the neighbouring mountains, sent after them, and at the same time sent a messenger to Lochiel, who was then about twenty miles off, to let him know where he was. Before Ascanius sent, Lochiel had heard he was in the country, and sent his brother Dr. Archibald Cameron, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, by different roads, to get intelligence of him.

The person sent by Ascanius to Lochiel met Dr. Cameron within a few miles of the place where Lochiel was, and was obliged to return to Lochiel with two French officers, whom he had met with, and who were in quest of the prince also.

These French officers came from Dunkirk in a small vessel, with sixty other gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a company of volunteers, under the command of the said two officers. They got to Poilver, in Seaforth's country, where four of them landed to deliver their dispatches; two of whom were taken prisoners, viz. one Fitzgerald, a Spanish officer, whom they hanged at Fort-William, pretending he had been a spy in Flanders; the other was called Mons. de Berard, a French officer, who was some time after exchanged upon the cartel. The other two wandered in Seaforth's country, till

Lochgarie, hearing they had letters for Ascanius, sent Captain Macraw and his own servant for them, that they might be sent to Lochiel, since the prince could not be found. This was about the middle of July.

This faithful person, sent by the prince, would not own to the doctor, or to the two French officers, that he knew any thing about the prince, his orders being only to tell it to Lochiel himself, which he punctually observed: as he said he had business of the utmost consequence, the doctor conducted him with the two officers to Lochiel.

Next day, Lochiel sent Dr. Cameron, with four servants, to the prince; and sent the officers at the same time, to be under the care of one of his friends, till farther orders.

The Rev. Mr. Cameron, whom his brother Lochiel had sent out to get intelligence of the prince, after travelling and searching several days, went to Achnacardie, where he met with his brother the doctor going to the prince with the four servants, who, as the river was not fordable, raised a boat which Captain Munro of Culcairn had sunk, after searching the Isle of Locharkaig.

When Culcairn was plundering in this island, he saw some new-raised earth, and imagining there was either money or arms concealed, had it dug up, but only found a man's corps, with a good Holland shirt on, which made him believe it to be Lochiel. He thereupon sent an express to the Duke of Cumberland, to tell him that Lochiel was dead of his wounds. But it was the corps of —— Cameron, brother of Allan Cameron of Callart, which last was taken at Culloden, and carried to London. Rather than have no plunder, they took the shirt, and left the corps lying on the ground.

Dr. Cameron and the minister, observing some men by the water-side in arms, sent some of Cluns' children to see who they were; they, soon finding they belonged to Cluns, sent the boat for them, and

then sent the four servants back again to Lochiel, pretending they were going to skulk in the wood for some days, and that keeping so many together might be dangerous.

They crossed the river, and went to the hut where the prince was, which was built on purpose in a wood betwixt Achnasual and the end of Locharkaig. The prince, and Cameron of Achnasual, upon seeing the doctor and his brother at a distance, and not knowing who they were, had left the hut and gone a little way from it; but, on being informed who they were, immediately returned to a joyful meeting. When they told the prince that Lochiel was well and recovered of his wounds, he thrice returned God thanks for it, and expressed uncommon joy.

The prince was at this time bare-footed, having on an old black kilt coat, a plaid, and a philibeg; a gun in his hand, and a pistol and durk by his side: yet he was very cheerful and in good health. They had killed a cow the day before, and the servants roasted part of it, of which, with some bread they had got from Fort-Augustus, they made a hearty dinner.

The prince proposed going immediately to Lochiel; but a friend telling him that he saw in a newspaper, (which they got at the same time with their bread), that it was said the prince had passed Corisrick, with Lochiel and thirty men, which probably might occasion a strict search in those parts, he therefore resolved to stay some days longer where he was. However, two or three days after this, the prince sent Lochgary and Dr. Cameron to Lochiel; and then dismissed Glenaladale and the Glenmorriston men, to return home again. Ascanius continued in the hut with Clun's children, Captain Macraw of Glengary's regiment, one or two servants, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron.

When the French officers, already mentioned, came to Lochiel, some persons told him these officers had left their letters with Alexander M'Leod,

came of the prince's aid-de-camps. Though this proved true, yet, as they themselves had not told it to Lochiel, it made him suspect them to be government spies.

The prince was very desirous to see the officers, but the Rev. Mr. John Cameron told him what both Lochiel, the doctor, and he himself were afraid of. Upon which Ascanius resolved to act in this affair with great caution, and said, "He could not help "observing, that it probably might be as they con-"jectured; because, if they were not spies, it was "surprising that two men, without one word of "Erse, and quite strangers in the country, could es-"cape the troops, who were always in motion, and "in quest of him and his followers."

However, as these officers had told Lochiel, "That "they had never seen the prince," he (the prince) laid a scheme to see them safely; and wrote a letter to this purpose, viz. "That, to avoid falling into his "enemies' hands, he was under a necessity to retire "to a remote country, where he had no person with "him, except one Captain Drummond, and a ser-"vant; and as he could not remove from where he "was, without danger to himself and them, he had "sent Captain Drummond with this letter; and, as "he could repose entire confidence in him, he de-"sired they would tell whatever message they had "to Captain Drummond, and take his advice as to "their conduct." This letter he resolved to deliver himself as Captain Drummond. Accordingly, the officers were sent for, and introduced to him in his borrowed name. He then delivered the letter to them, with which they seemed very well pleased, and told him every thing they had to say, which, he afterwards said, was of no great consequence as his affairs now stood.

They continued there two days, and asked Captain Drummond many questions about the prince's health, his manner of living, &c.

Ascanius, thinking the packet left with Mr. Alex-

ander M'Leod might be of use, sent for it; but as it was in cipher, and directed to the French ambassador, so he could make nothing of it. Lochiel took care of these officers till the prince was ready to go away, when they were conducted to the ship, and, seeing that they had conversed with Ascanius in so free a manner, taking him for Captain Drummond, asked his pardon, which he readily granted.

The prince and company continued in this wood, and in that over-against Achnacarie, (having three huts in different places, to which they removed by turns), until about the 10th of August, on which day Cluns' sons and the Rev. Mr. Cameron went to the Strath of Cluns to get intelligence.

They were not half an hour in the hut, which Cluns had built for his family, (after his house was burnt), when a child about six years old went out, and, returning hastily, said she saw a body of soldiers: this they could not believe, as Lochgarie had promised Lochiel to have a guard between Fort-Augustus and Cluns, to give intelligence.

They went out, however, and found all true, as the girl had told. Cluns skulked to observe the motions of that party; one of his sons, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, went to inform the prince, who was that day in one of his huts on the other side of the water Kiaig, a short mile from Cluns; and, in crossing the water at the ford, under cover of the wood, near the hut, the Rev. Mr. Cameron observed the party advancing.

The prince was asleep, but Mr. Cameron soon awoke him, and told him that a body of their enemies was in sight. He then arose very composedly, called for his gun, sent for Captain Macraw and Alexander, Cluns' son.

As they had received no intelligence of this party's marching out of Fort-Augustus, they concluded that there was some treachery in the case, and that they were surrounded on all sides. However, they determined, though but eight in number, rather than

yield their throats to be cut, to sell their lives as dearly as they could, and to die like men of honour; and the prince said, "Lads, let us live for a better day if "we can."

The prince examined all their guns, which were in pretty good order, and said he hoped they would do some execution before they were killed: for his part, he said, he had been bred a shooter, and could charge quick, was a tolerable marksman, and could be sure of his mark.

They then left the hut, and marched to a small hill above the wood, from whence they could see a great way up Glenkengie. They got there unobserved, under the cover of the wood. Ascanius then sent Cluns and the minister to take a narrow view of the party, and resolved that night to go to the top of Mullantagart, a high mountain in the Braes of Glenkengie, and sent one to Cluns and the minister, to know what they had heard or discovered.

When Cluns and the minister had got to the Strath of Cluns, the women told them that the party was about 200 of Lord Loudon's regiment, under Captain Grant of Knockardo in Strathspey; that they had carried away ten milk cows, which Cluns had bought after he was plundered before, and that they had found out the hut Ascanius had in the wood of Tervalt, and said they were gone to fetch Barrisdale's cattle to the camp.

In the evening, Cluns' son went to his father, and they all returned, and carried some whisky, bread, and cheese, about twelve o'clock at night, to Ascanius, who was on the side of the mountain, without fire or any covering: they persuaded him to take a dram, and made a fire, which, however, they durst not keep above half an hour before they extinguished it.

By daylight they went up to the top of the mountain, where they staid till eight o'clock in the evening. Ascanius slept all the forenoon in his plaid, with wet stockings, though it hailed. From whence

they went that night to the Strath of Glenkengie, where they killed a cow, and lived merrily for some days.

From this place they went to the Braes of Achnacarie, and waded through the water of Arkey, up to the mid thigh; in which wet condition Ascanius lay all night and next day in the open air; yet he caught no cold.

In a day or two, Lochgary and Dr. Cameron returned from Lochiel, to whom they had been sent, and told it, as Lochiel's opinion, that Ascanius would be safer where Lochiel was skulking, which pleased him much.

The next night, Ascanius set out with Lochgary, Dr. Cameron, Alexander (Clunz son), the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, and three servants: they travelled in the night and slept all the day, till they got to Lochiel, who was then among the hills, between the Braes of Badenoch and Atholl. The doctor and his brother went by another road, on a message to Badenoch. The minister returned about the 13th of September, and the next day was sent south by Lochiel, to hire a ship to carry them off from the north coast.

The ship was provided, and one sent to inform the prince, Lochiel, and others of it. But before this messenger got to the prince and Lochiel, two of his friends, who had orders to watch on the west coast, came and told them, that two French ships were arrived at Moidart.

Upon this, the prince set out the night following, and sent to inform all the others, who were skulking in different places. Some arrived at the place appointed in time; but several, by some accident or other, had not that good fortune.

The prince reached Moidart on September the 19th, 1746, and on the 20th, embarked on board the Bellona of St. Maloes, a Nantz privateer, of 32 carriage guns, 12 swivels, and 340 men, brought hither by Colonel Warren of Dillon's regiment, who went

on purpose for a vessel. The prince, on seeing his friends put first on board the ships, then embarked himself, and set sail immediately for France, where he landed safely at Roscort, near three leagues west of Morlaix, on the 29th of the same month, after a pleasant voyage.

REMARKS.

From the foregoing account, we find, that the prince was twice in danger of being shot; five times in danger of being drowned, having been in great storms in little boats; nine times pursued, and in sight of ships of war and other armed vessels; many times in danger of being taken, often seeing his pursuers, and sometimes being within hearing of them; six times miraculously escaped being taken; was often almost famished for want of meat and drink, and must inevitably have starved, were it not for some favourable acts of Providence, that exceeded all human aid or hope.

He was mostly obliged to lie in miserable huts, having no other bed than the bare ground or heath; often lying on wild mountains, without any other covering than the canopy of heaven, exposed to heavy dews and rains. Add to all these, that he had frequent returns of the bloody flux.

Thus, you have a faithful account of the whole escape, taken from the authorities already mentioned. The account, since the prince's return to the continent of Scotland, is chiefly taken from the journal of the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, presbyterian minister, and chaplain to Fort-William, who has been much with the prince. I shall, therefore give you his own words.

"I have told you," said he, "what I was wit-
"ness to, or informed of, by such as I could abso-
"lutely depend upon. I shall only say that the
"prince submitted with patience to his adverse for-
"tunes; was cheerful; frequently desiring those
"about him to be so. He was cautious and circum-

mask he had so long worn, and then hired a fine hotel on the Kay de Theatin, opposite to the Louvre, on the banks of the Seine, for himself and the chief of his retinue, on purpose, as he said, to be near the opera and play-house, and other diversions of Paris, some of which he generally attended every evening.

During this period, he neither went so frequently nor staid so long at Versailles as he had been accustomed to do, and rather avoided than sought any private conferences with the king. The first public indication he gave of his disgust was, to cause a great number of medals, both of silver and copper, to be cast, having his head and this inscription, "*Carolus Wallia Princeps;*" and, on the reverse, Britannia and shipping, with this motto, *Amor et Spes Britannia.*

Every body was surprised at the device: as France was reduced to the condition of making peace entirely by the bravery and successes of the British fleet, this device gave great offence to the French ministry, and several of the nobility and others.

Soon after, the French plenipotentiaries were sent out to meet those of the other powers at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to open the congress; and Ascanius entered his protest against all that should be concerted or agreed upon in that or any other congress, in prejudice to his title and pretensions.

After signing the preliminaries, Ascanius went no more to court, but appeared far from being disconcerted at this event, and was not the least shocked, but seemed determined to contemn his fate, instead of complaining of the severity of it, and kept his resolution to the end, even in the midst of the most shocking and unexpected trials.

As, by one of the articles of peace, he was obliged to leave the kingdom of France, the king wrote to the states of Friburg, desiring they would receive him in a manner becoming his birth, and as a prince who was very dear to him.

Neither the one nor the other had any effect on

the department of the young hero; he continued to live as a person wholly disinterested, and regardless of what was doing; until the king, who doubtless expected he would have gone of his own accord, finding he did not, ordered Cardinal Tencin to acquaint him with the necessity there was for his departure.

This the cardinal did in the most tender manner; but received such evasive answers from him, that he could not give the king any positive account whether he would go or not.

The king, however, waited about fourteen days, and being informed that he made not the least preparation for his departure, sent the Duke de Gesvres with a message of the same nature as before. The prince only replied, "that he little expected "such a step to have been taken, and that he had "not yet had sufficient time to consider how to be-"have in it."

This answer produced a delay of another fortnight, when the Duke de Gesvres was sent a second time; and, on his saying, "That the king was under "the necessity of executing this article of the trea-"ty," the prince replied, with some warmth, "That "there was a prior treaty between him and the "king, from which he could not depart with ho-"nour."—It was in vain for the duke to urge him to be more explicit; he only bid him deliver what he had said to the king, who would know his meaning.

Notwithstanding the messages were no secret, he showed so little intention to leave Paris, that his people bought several pieces of new furniture for his house. Among other persons he sent for the king's goldsmith, who had been employed by him formerly, and ordered him to make a service of plate, to the value of an hundred thousand crowns, to be ready against a particular day, which the goldsmith promised not to fail in. But it so happened, that, immediately after, he received orders to prepare such a large quantity for the king's use, against the same

time, that he found it impossible to comply with both; on which he waited on Ascanius, and intreated he would allow him a few days longer, telling him the occasion; but he would not admit of the excuse, insisting "on being first served, as he had "given the first orders."

The goldsmith was in a very great dilemma on this occasion, but thought the most prudent way to extricate himself from it would be to acquaint the king; who no sooner heard the story, than he commanded that Ascanius should be first served, and that the value of the plate should be paid by the comptroller of his own household, without any charge to the other.

It is supposed the king imagined the hurry the prince showed for having his plate got ready by such a time, was occasioned by his designing to leave Paris on that day; for no more messages were sent to him, until about a week after the plate was sent.

But it was plain Ascanius was so far from any such intention, that he resolved to push things to the last extremity. This fine service of plate was on the score of a grand entertainment he made for the Princess of Talmaut, a near relation to the queen, the Marchioness de Sprimont, Madam de Maiseuse, the Duke de Bouillon, and above thirty others of the nobility of both sexes, with several foreigners of great distinction.

About this time, the two hostages from Great Britain arrived at Paris; on which Ascanius expressed great dissatisfaction, saying publicly, "That the "tables were sadly turned upon poor old England, "since her word could not be relied upon without "such pledges as are scarce ever granted but by a "conquered nation; while French faith passed cur-"rent for all that was to be done on her part. He "could not now take it ill of the French not to wish "success to his interest, while they were permitted "to rule as they please."

The French court, having received complaints

from the English ministry, because the prince was not removed, thought proper to remind him once more what was expected from him. Accordingly, the Duke de Gesvres waited on the prince a third time, and acquainted him also, that the states of Friburg had returned a most obliging answer to the king's letter on his account, and were ready to receive the honour of his going to reside in their canton, with all the demonstrations of respect due to his birth and virtues, and in their power to give. To this the prince only replied, "That he hoped to find "a time to return the good will of the states," without giving the duke any satisfaction whether he accepted their offer or not.

The king, upon this, dispatched a courier to Rome, with an account of all that had passed. Ascanius sent also to his father, and the court being willing to wait the result of this, occasioned it a further delay.

As no part of these proceedings were a secret, there was scarce any thing else talked of at Paris: amongst the generality of all degrees, the prince's conduct was applauded.

Two of the distinguished characteristics of the French nation being, the envy they are apt to conceive of the excellence of any person not born amongst them, and their implicit love and reverence even to idolizing their sovereign; we are obliged to confess, that the merit they vouchsafe to acknowledge in a foreigner must be extraordinary indeed; and that he who is capable of rivalling their king's conduct in their esteem, must have something of distinguishing dignity about him.

The ministry could not brook this, and were resolved to get rid of the prince at any rate; and, therefore, without waiting for the return of the courier from Rome, prevailed upon the king to send the Duke de Gesvres a fourth time to him, and insist on his immediate removal.

Ascanius now expressed some impatience, and told the duke, "That though he should always treat

" any one who came to him from the king with re-
" spect, yet he was sorry to find he had the trouble
" of repeating a business to which he could not give
" ear, without hearing it from the king himself."
The king being acquainted with this, and being impatient to get rid of him at any rate, yet loath to proceed to extremities, vouchsafed to write a letter to him, and sent it with a blank order, to be filled up by himself, for whatever yearly sum he pleased; both which the Duke de Gesvres was obliged to deliver.

Ascanius read the letter twice over, and having paused a little, threw it from him with disdain, saying, " The thing required from me is not consistent
" with honour."

This ambiguous proceeding both perplexed and exasperated the king; a council was called, and therein it was resolved to send Monsieur le Count de Maurepas to expostulate with Ascanius on his late conduct, and not to leave him, till he had obliged him to declare in express terms what his intention was; and withal to intimate to him, that if he did not conform to the present necessity of affairs, by leaving the kingdom with a good grace, the ministry would be obliged to compel him to it. " The ministers!
" the ministers!" cried the prince, with the greatest disdain; " if you will oblige me, Monsieur le Count,
" tell the king, that I am born to break all the
" schemes of his ministers; and tell him, I know how
" it could be done, but the time is not yet come to
" complete that good work."

It is supposed the prince had a double view in acting in the manner he did: to convince Europe, that the most solemn engagements had been entered into between him and the court of France, and were all broken on their part; and, secondly, to shew the court that he was not to be any farther imposed upon, and that he could resent, as he ought, the artifices they had practised upon him.

The courier being at length arrived, brought a letter from the prince's father to him, enclosed in one to

thie king, open, as was said, for the king's perusal. It is said the letter contained a command to the prince to leave the French dominions, but without mentioning the time when; and for that reason the prince thought himself at liberty to stay where he was, till he had mentioned the period, and fixed a proper place for his future residence, as he had some reluctance to go to Friburg.

The ministry, not knowing the prince's real motives for staying, prevailed upon the king to give orders for his being arrested, and, when the order was carried to be signed, the king said, "Poor prince! "how difficult it is for a king to be a true friend!" This seems to show the king did not foresee the unworthy treatment the prince was to receive from the hands of those commissioned to arrest him. This order, signed at three o'clock, was rumoured over all Paris before night.

Twelve hundred guards were drawn out, and placed in the court of the Palais Royal; a great number of serjeants and grenadiers armed cap-a-pee, filled the passages of the opera house; and the street guards were placed in the streets leading to it. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Duke de Biron, who was colonel of the guards, and had the charge of executing this commission, would not appear, but kept at a distance, disguised, leaving it to the care of Major Vanderville, a man of mean extraction, and of more mean merit, who had been raised by him to the post. The manner of this whole transaction is fully and minutely related in the following extract of a letter from Paris, dated December 21, 1748, to a person at London.

"I would not acquaint you of this odd scene, till "the confusion was a little settled, and until I could "inform you of the circumstances with more cer-"tainty.

"As the prince was determined not to leave France, "till forced to do it by violence, he was, conse-"quently, in daily expectation of being arrested;

" and, accordingly, had secured all his papers, plate, " and such things as he thought not proper to trust " to French mercy.

" Some hours before the prince was taken, several streets of Paris were beset with companies of " the guards, and such precautions were taken as if " there was real danger of some sudden rising for his " defence. This precaution seemed necessary in " some measure, because, on Saturday the 7th, the " prince being at the opera, was universally clapt at " his entrance, and applauded by every body, for his " brave answers to the king's orders to him to quit " the French dominions, into which he had been invited from Italy, &c. &c. This general applause " of the people, it is believed, hastened his being " seized. The prince, being informed by a friend of " their motions and placing the guards, only calmly " replied, 'Well, then, if it be so, we will not let " them wait for us;' and so immediately they went " to the opera, being on Tuesday the 10th.

" He was arrested in entering the opera-house, by " six lusty fellows, who had cuirasses under their " coats; they seized his sword, and small pocket-" pistols, which he always carried for his own security. They tied his arms, thighs, and legs, with " cords, and, lifting him off the ground, put him into " a coach, attended by the major, aid-major, and " another officer of the blue guards, and four ser-" jeants behind the coach. In this equipage, he was " carried to the castle of Vincennes, the whole road " being crowded with guards.

" The prince behaved, on the road to Vincennes, " with all the composure imaginable, and finding " the aid-major had been in Italy, talked to him " about several places in that country.

" On his arrival at the castle, seeing his intimate " friend and old acquaintance, the governor, approaching him, he cried out, 'Mon ami, Chatelet, " venez donc-im' embrasser, puisque je ne puis pas " vous embrasser;' that is, my friend, Chatelet, come'

"them to embrace me when I can't embrace you
"(alluding to the cords wherewith he was tied).
"The governor, then, in the most tender and re-
"spectful manner, unbound him, and conducted
"him to a small room, about ten feet square, with
"a small light which descended from the top. Up-
"on the sight of this apartment, he only said, he
"had seen a worse in Scotland.

"Three captains of the guards were always with
"him night and day; who, by their tears, testified
"their concern, and shewed him all the respect due
"to his rank.

"The first night he did not eat, saying, he had
"dined well, nor did he sleep until next morning,
"(Wednesday the 11th), when he flung himself in his
"clothes upon the bed, and got a good nap. The
"same day he did not dine; but, at five o'clock in the
"evening, the governor brought him some broth,
"with three bits of bread, which he pressed him to
"take, and the prince complied, and ordered his sup-
"per to be ready at eight o'clock. He ate very
"heartily, though it disagreed with him afterwards,
"having overfasted himself.

"On Thursday (the 12th,) he dined very well,
"continuing his meals regularly, and was in good
"health till he was released.

"On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the go-
"vernor went to the king's levee, but carried back
"no orders for amending his prisoner's condition.

"On Friday morning (the 13th,) the prince wrote
"to the king, and in the evening received his an-
"swer. On Saturday he got another letter, and in
"the afternoon he had liberty to walk in the gar-
"dens, &c. where he staid some hours, and then re-
"turned to his dungeon, to pass his last night there.
"The contents of these letters were not known. On
"Sunday (the 15th,) at seven o'clock in the morn-
"ing, he departed from Vincennes to Fountainbleau
"in a coach, with the commandant of the musque-
"teers, accompanied by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Staf-
"ford, in two post-chaises.

"On Monday the 16th, the prince wrote again to "the king, and received an immediate answer.

"On Tuesday morning, at four o'clock, having "eaten three eggs, he set out from thence with the "aforesaid company, to hasten out of France.

"Sixty musqueteers were appointed to guard him "on the road, but as he assured the king there "was no necessity for them, they staid behind.

"During his captivity, he never showed the least "impatience, in looks, words, or actions; but bore "it with that magnanimity of spirit which gained "him the admiration of all, who said, this prince "must be a hero in every scene of life. He was "affable, in the most gracious manner, to the go-"vernor and the three captains of the guards; and "when he saw them in any concern on his account, "he even revived them with his gaiety, and always "forced them to sit at table and eat with him.

"The castle of Vincennes, all the time of the "prince's residence, was strongly guarded by the "grenadiers and blue guards; and the draw-bridges "were drawn up both day and night.

"When the prince was first arrested, the lieute-"nant of police, with 150 guards, was ordered to "his house; but on finding the doors shut, were "preparing ladders, when some of them finding a "back-door, broke it open, entered triumphantly, "and seised every person there, even to the scul-"lion, and ate the supper which was preparing for "the prince.

"At the same time, Sir David Murray, Sir James "Harrington, Mr. Gorin, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Sheri-"dan, and others, both English, Scotch, and Irish, "of the prince's adherents, (about forty,) were arrest-"ed in different parts of the town, and were con-"ducted, in the night, to the Bastile: they were "treated very well in all other respects, except their "confinement.

"The prince's French servants were set at liberty "the next day; and, before he left Vincennes, he "ordered them to be all dismissed.

"On Friday, the 13th, at night, Messrs. Stafford "and Sheridan were released, to prepare for their "attendance on the prince against Sunday morning.

"The rest of the gentlemen were all dismissed "on the 19th, at eight o'clock at night, when Sir "James Harrington, and Mr. Gorin, received or- "ders to quit Paris immediately; but gained leave "afterwards to stay till the 24th, when, as was sup- "posed, they followed the prince; though others "were left at their own liberty, to do as they "pleased. This short confinement, added to that "of Sir David Murray's in England, just completed "two years.

"The prince only left at the house proper per- "sons to pay off all bills, and to pack up such "things as he did not before think necessary to be "removed."

The prince, from Fountainbleau, proceeded on his journey to Avignon, where he staid some weeks, and left it incog. taking along with him Colonel Gorin, and three other domestics, and returned four days again. During this time, the prince was frequently with the king and queen, and then proceeded on his journey for Poland, to marry the Princess of Radzvil, who was said to be a protestant, and one of the first princesses of Polasd, with an immense fortune. She was related to the Queen of France, and to the Countess of Talmont, who brought about this match.

I shall now endeavour to give a short account of what became of some of those who helped to compose the prince's army.

Lochiel, being wounded in both legs, was carried off the field by four of his men, and put into a barn. While these men were taking off his own clothes, and putting on others to disguise him, a party of dragoons surrounded the barn; but they were ordered away just as they were going into it.

The dragoons were no sooner gone, than his men set him on horseback, and carried him that night to

Cluny's house in Badenoch, where he continued till next morning, and then went to Lochaber: when he left the barn, he dismissed two of the men, but kept the other two to hold him on horseback.

On Friday, after the battle of Culloden, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drumamond, the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lord Ogilvie, Colonel Stewart of Ardshiel, Colonel John Roy Stewart, Lord Nairn, several of the Drummonds, and Captain James Hay, went to Ruthven in Badenoch. Lord George Murray there proposed to get meal into that country, and to collect their troops again, and hold out in order to obtain terms; but no person would pay any regard to what he said, being before so often disgusted at him, also at his haughty behaviour in general, and at his conduct at the battle of Culloden in particular. He said many things in his own justification, and told them he would clear up his character in black and white, which was some time after handed about. Lord George declared, at this place, "That he was against "fighting that day, and was for crossing the Nairn, "but Sullivan opposed it; also, that Sullivan used "to carry every thing in councils of war against "him."

Some of these gentlemen began to disperse that night, and the rest next day. The Duke of Perth, and Lord John Drummond, went directly for Moidart, where they soon after embarked for France with Lord Elcho, Captain James Maxwell, and several others. They all got safe thither, except the Duke of Perth, who died two days after he went on board; Lord John also died soon after, and his regiment was given to Lord Lewis Drumamond.

The Marquis of Tullibardine was soon after betrayed, and carried to the Tower of London, where he died, and was buried in St. Peter's church. He was not in the battle of Culloden, being then very ill.

Lord George Murray was concealed in Scotland till December after the battle of Culloden; and then,

after being a little time in Edinburgh, went on board a vessel at Anstruther, and got to France. He never was in England after that battle, though some have strongly asserted it.

Lord Ogilvie, Lord Nairn, Colonel Stewart of Ardshiel, Colonel John Roy Stewart, and the Drummonds, all got to France; after which, Colonel Roy Stewart died. Captain Hay, surrendering as a French officer, to the justice-clerk at Edinburgh, was removed to Carlisle, where he was tried and condemned for high treason; but, being an officer in the French service, was soon discharged, and released upon the cartel.

On the 15th of May, at Murtleg, or rather Murlegan, in the Isle of Morar, near the head of Locharkaig, Lord Lovat, Lochiel, Major Kennedy, Glenbucket, Lochgary, Alexander M'Leod, Doctor Cameron, John Roy Stewart, Borrisdale's son, Secretary Murray, and others, (about thirteen,) assembled; and it was there proposed and agreed, that they should make a rendesvous at Glenmallie, and cross Lochy, where Cluny and Keppoch's men should join them. Lord Lovat's opinion was, to raise about 3500 men, to defend the country, families, and cattle, as well as themselves; and the particular number that each was to provide was agreed upon. Lord Lovat was to send 400 men, and that lord's servant had ten days pay for these men given him.

The meeting being over, Lochiel and Murray crossed the lake again; and, about four or five days after this, Murray crossed the lake again to Glensherrie, on the opposite side of the water, to Lord Lovat.

The general rendesvous was to be near Keppoch's house; Lochiel's and Clanronald's people were to meet at the lake, about two miles from Lochiel's house.

Accordingly, about ten days after this, Lochiel got a body of 300 or 400 men; Borrisdale and Lochgary went with about 150 men each; but as soon as Lochgary got pay for his men, he went away, promising

to return in a few days, and to observe Lord Loudon's motions. But he performed neither, for that earl, about two days after the men were got together, marched through Glengary, and had certainly taken Lochiel, but for some of his scouts. Borrisdale, before Loudon went away to Achnecary, told Lochiel he would go and bring more men to them, and left his son with a few.

Early in the morning, a body of men appeared marching over a hill, whom Lochiel believed to be Borrisdale's men; but some of his scouts came and told him they were Loudon's people, for they had red crosses on their bonnets. Upon this, Lochiel dispersed his men, and crossed the loch in a boat, which he had kept to prevent his being surprised; so that he owed his escape more to the crosses than to the care of Lochgary, or to the honesty of Borrisdale.

Lord Lovat and some others took different routes; Secretary Murray, and some others, staid with Lochiel until they got to Lochleven, near Glenco; and, after being there some time, Sir David Murray, Secretary Murray, Dr. Cameron, and the Rev. Mr. John Cameron, went from thence to Glenlyon, and continued there twelve or fourteen days. From that place they went to Glenochie, where Secretary Murray was taken very ill, and desired they should return; so Sir David Murray went south, and Captain M'Nab went with him to the Braes of Balquhiddar, and provided him a horse and clothes, and the rest returned again to Lochiel.

Sir David went as far as Whitby in Yorkshire, where he was taken prisoner, in trying to get off, and was sent to York; there he was tried and condemned, but was afterwards reprieved, and discharged on the 7th of August 1748, upon condition that he should quit the kingdom for life.

After staying a little time with Lochiel, Secretary Murray went southwards, and was at Mr. Hunter's of Polmood, his brother-in-law, on the 28th of June, after the battle of Culloden, being about four miles

from his own house at Broughton, on the great road to England, by Carlisle. The evening of the night that he was taken, a boy went from his brother's to Broughton, where a party of soldiers were, and told them to go and take him, which in the night they did, and next day set forward with him to Edinburgh, where, when he arrived, he was so drunk that he could not speak to the justice-clerk, until after a few hours sleep; and then he was committed to the castle, where he remained until sent up to London, under a strong guard, and was immediately close confined, until he had given evidence against Lord Lovat; and then was removed into the custody of a messenger, and, about Christmas 1747, was discharged.

When they were going to remove him from Edinburgh, his mother wrote to a certain countess, to desire her assistance to raise a party in Yorkshire, to attempt to rescue her dear son; but the lady was so provoked at it, that she burnt the letter immediately in great wrath.

The rest of the history of Lochiel, Dr. Cameron, and his brother the minister, I have given in the prince's escape. The other gentlemen all got safe abroad. Lochiel got safe to France, and was there made a colonel of 1000 men, which he enjoyed to his death, in September 1748, when it was given to Sir Hector M'Lean, who, as afore-mentioned, was so long confined in Newgate. Dr. Cameron was wounded at Culloden by a musquet-bullet, which entered near the elbow, (having his arm up), and went along the arm, and then out at the opposite shoulder.

We shall conclude these remarks with an extract of a letter from London, July 31, 1746, the truth of which may be relied on, and which gave rise to the ballad that follows the letter:—

"A young lady, of a good family and handsome "fortune, had, for some time, extremely loved, "and been equally beloved by Mr. James Dawson,

" one of those unfortunate gentlemen who suffered " yesterday at Kensington Common for high trea- " son; and had he been either acquitted, or, after " condemnation, found the royal mercy, the day of " his enlargement was to have been that of their " marriage.

" Not all the persuasions of her kindred could " prevent her from going to the place of execution; " she was determined to see the last of a person so " dear to her; and accordingly followed the sledges " in a hackney-coach, accompanied by a gentleman " nearly related to her, and one female friend. She " got near enough to see the fire kindled which was " to consume that heart she knew so much devoted " to her, and all the other dreadful preparations for " his fate, without being guilty of any of those ex- " travagances her friends had apprehended. But " when all was over, and that she found he was no " more, she drew her head back into the coach, " and, crying out, ' My dear, I follow thee—I fol- " low thee—sweet Jesus! receive both our souls to- " gether,' fell on the neck of her companion, and " expired in the very moment she was speaking.

" That excessive grief, which the force of her re- " solution had kept smothered within her breast, it " is thought, put a stop to the vital motion, and " suffocated at once all the animal spirits."

JEMMY DAWSON—A BALLAD.

Come, listen to my mournful tale,
Ye tender hearts and lovers dear;
Nor will you scorn to heave a sigh,
Nor need you blush to shed a tear.

And thou, dear Kitty, peerless maid,
Do thou a pensive ear incline;
For thou canst weep at ev'ry woe,
And pity ev'ry plaint—but mine.

Young Dawson was a gallant boy,
A brighter never trode the plain;

And well he lov'd a charming maid,
And dearly was he lov'd again.

A tender maid, she lov'd him dear,
Of gentle blood the damsel came;
And faultless was her beauteous form,
And spotless was her virgin fame.

But curse on party's hateful strife,
That led the favour'd youth astray;
The day the rebel clans appear'd—
O had he never seen that day!

Their colours and their sash he wore,
And in the fatal dress was found;
And now he must that death endure,
Which gives the brave the keenest wound.

How pale was then his true-love's cheeks,
When Jemmy's sentence reach'd her ear!
For never yet did Alpine snows
So pale, or yet so chill, appear.

With fault'ring voice she weeping said,
"Oh, Dawson! monarch of my heart,
"Think not thy death shall end our loves;
"For thou and I will never part.

"Yet might sweet mercy find a place,
"And bring relief to Jemmy's woes,
"Oh, George! without a prayer for thee,
"My orisons should never close.

"The gracious prince that gave him life,
"Would crown a never-dying flame;
"And ev'ry tender babe I bore,
"Should learn to lisp the giver's name.

"But tho' he should be dragg'd in scorn,
"To yonder ignominious tree,
"He shall not want one constant friend,
"To share the cruel fate's decree."

O, then, her mourning coach was call'd,
The sledge mov'd slowly on before;
Tho' borne in a triumphal car,
She had not lov'd her fav'rite more.

She follow'd him, prepar'd to view
The terrible behests of law;
And the last scene of Jemmy's woes
With calm and stedfast eyes she saw.

Distorted was that blooming face
Which she had fondly lov'd so long;
And stifled was that tuneful breath,
Which in her praise had sweetly sung.

Ah! sever'd was that beauteous neck
Round which her arms had fondly clos'd,
And mangled was that beauteous breast
On which her love-sick head repos'd.

And ravish'd was that constant heart
She did to ev'ry heart prefer;
For, tho' it could its king forget,
'Twas true and loyal still to her.

Amid those unrelenting flames,
She bore this constant heart to see;
But when 'twas moulder'd into dust,
"Yet, yet," she cry'd "I follow thee.

"My death, my death alone can show
"The pure, the lasting love I bore;
"Accept, O Heaven! of woes like ours,
"And let us, let us weep no more."

The dismal scene was o'er and past,
The lover's mournful bearse retir'd;
The maid drew back her languid head,
And, sighing forth his name, expir'd!

Tho' justice ever must prevail,
The tear my Kitty sheds is due;
For seldom shall she hear a tale
So sad, so tender, yet so true.

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